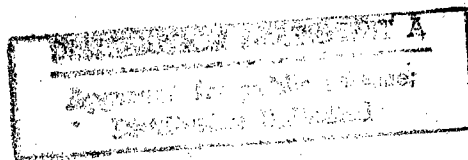


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 March 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CONFERENCE AT MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Report on Proceedings

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 1 Feb 84 pp 1, 2, 3

[Article: "MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Communists Implement Congress Decisions--29th Accountability-Election Conference of MVR Rayon Party Organization Held"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Communist delegates to the 29th accountability-election conference of the MVR party organization on 24 January 1984 crossed the threshold of the Georgi Kirkov auditorium in the Party Palace with emotion. This emotion sprang from the awareness that it was their efforts, the efforts of dedicated and selfless champions of security and order, of unwavering defenders of the people's revolutionary gains, that underlay the progress our country has made in the 40 years of building socialism. They came here to render an accounting to the party and workers and to their communist conscience of what has been done during the years since the 12th Congress. They came here to voice their close solidarity, and that of all MVR employees, with the Leninist April policy of the BCP and its Central Committee headed up by Comrade Zhivkov, and their readiness with mind, heart and talent constantly to raise their highly responsible work to the level of the party's new high demands.

Participants in the conference were Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs, Col Gen /Dimitur Stoyanov/; member of the BCP Central Committee and head of the Military Administrative Section, Col Gen /Velko Palin/; secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee /Dimitur Ganev/; deputy ministers and other key MVR functionaries.

The opening address (delegates had been familiarized beforehand with the report) about the work of the MVR party committee and party organization to implement the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and worthily to greet the National Party Conference was delivered by the first secretary of the committee, /Todor Terziev/. He emphasized that the basic distinguishing feature in the building of a developed socialist society during the period since the 12th Congress has been the inspired constructive labor of the Bulgarian people to translate into reality the April party line. The policy of nationwide intensification and consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism has been successfully put into practice. Despite the difficulties

created by the imperialist states for the progress of our socialist economy and the losses from adverse climatic conditions, the Bulgarian People's Republic is developing dynamically at a steady rate.

The new theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov since the congress are a guiding principle in the work of the party organizations and workforces to implement the basic lines of socio-economic development.

The exceptionally complex and tense international situation was stressed. It is characterized by the most acrimonious confrontation between socialism and capitalism during the entire postwar period and by increasingly pertinacious attempts of the United States and its allies to upset the existing parity in military matters between them and the Soviet Union, and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in favor of imperialism.

Pitted against this policy of the imperialist countries, and first and foremost of the United States, which is thrusting mankind towards total nuclear war, is the peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. The political declaration of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact and the declaration of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Yuriy Andropov, as well as the speeches and statements of responsible party leaders and statesmen from the socialist community contain constructive proposals and initiatives, consistent with the fundamental interests of the people and based on equality of rights and equal security.

Through its active foreign policy the Bulgarian People's Republic is doing everything necessary to strengthen peace and understanding among the nations and especially to promote cooperation in the Balkans and turn this region into a nuclear-free zone.

In strenuous and dynamic work to implement the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and under conditions of the exacerbated international political and operational situation, the activity of the rayon party organization has continuously improved. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the operational, managerial, investigative, protective and administrative activity of the MVR agencies has made progress.

The personal contribution which the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has made to the enrichment and development of the BCP's Dimitrov policy of enhancing the role, authority and responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the building of a developed socialist society is enormous. Communists and all employees have welcomed with gratitude and readiness for dedicated labor the high evaluation given in the report to the 12th Congress: "The people who keep watch over the security, tranquility and safety of Bulgarian citizens are worthily repaying the concern of the party and people and of the MVR agencies."

A new expression of the BCP Central Committee's regard was the participation of our first party and state leader in the proceedings of the National Conference

with party and service activists of the ministry, held on 1 July 1981. In his profoundly meaningful and well-grounded speech Comrade T. Zhiykov pointed out that for a social apparatus with an intensely political character and purpose, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, /the application everywhere, by everybody in everything of the essence and requirements of the class-and-party political approach/, of the scientific approach, and the improvement of personnel work is an objective and professional necessity.

A concrete manifestation of the concern and regard of the BCP Central Committee and the government is the special decisions, laws, ukases, decrees and regulations adopted during this period for the improvement of MVR operation, which are a solid normative basis for the achievement of higher quality and efficiency in the ministry's activity.

On this basis the ministry board formulated a long-term comprehensive program for implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and new guiding documents on basic lines of activity: improvement of work style and methods, organization and administration; development of science and technology; betterment of personnel work, instruction and discipline.

The leadership of the ministry and BCP rayon committee, party agencies and organizations and service heads in the units have done purposeful political, organizational and ideological work on the practical solution of problems. Held during the period under review, the expanded sessions of the ministry board and the BCP rayon committee on new theoretical formulations and practical approaches, on services to the economy, on quality, discipline and the rule of law; the national conferences along basic lines on the work of DS [State Security], GV [granichni voyski; border troops], NM [people's militia], PO [protivozharna okhrana; fire protection], and Prisons; the scientific and practical conferences, seminars etc. to a wider application of the political and scientific approach and to a rise in the stringency and criteria for the evaluation of achieved results.

In implementation of its comprehensive 3-year program, the rayon committee discussed and decided urgent and important questions of party-political work regarding the performance of the service's functions.

Important and urgent problems in the activity of units and subunits have a permanent place on the agenda of sessions of party committees and bureaus.

During the period under review, 44.4 percent of the questions discussed at PPO [purvichna partiyna organizatsiya; primary party organization] sessions involved party-political backup of the performance of the service's functions. Of these, 20.7 percent involved the clarification and execution of party and governmental decisions, ministerial orders and instructions etc.; 10.3 percent involved the fulfillment of operational, production, scientific and other plans.

The accountability-election conference found that the activity of MVR agencies to guarantee the country's security has been elevated to a higher level.

Efforts to strengthen public order and to prevent, curtail and limit crimes and violations have been more effective. The contribution of MVR agencies to the protection and development of the economic system and the national economy has become larger. Administrative services to state and public bodies and organizations and the population have improved.

This progress is the result of the direct guidance, trust and concern and the stringency of the BCP Central Committee and the Sofia City Committee. It is inseparably linked with the fraternal cooperation and unity of operations with the KGB [state security committee] and MVR agencies of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. It would be inconceivable without the constant support of the working people, without their confidence and backing. And not least, it is due to our employees--communists, Komsomol and nonparty members, to their selfless and dedicated labor and uncompromising campaign against the subversive activity of the adversary, against enemy criminal elements, against negative phenomena and activities.

In implementation of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and the National MVR Conference of 1 July 1981, the service and party leaders and the PPO's of State Security units have adopted specific programs, plans and measures for the improvement of operations. A distinguishing feature of their activity is the effort they have shown to delve, thoroughly, critically and with increased ability, into the complex and important functions of the teams and, on the basis of changes in the operational situation, to augment the ways, methods and means of combating the enemy.

The most important result of the many-sided activity of the State Security agencies is their successful assistance of the party and government in carrying out the foreign and domestic policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

During the period under review the job of performing the tasks resulting from the Decision of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee regarding the People's Militia continued at an unflagging pace.

As a result of the expanded wide-scale political, organizational and ideological activity of the service heads, the party committees, the primary party organizations and the political-educational agencies in the DNM [People's Militia Directorate] and the MVR SGU [expansion unknown; possibly Sofiysko Gradsko Upravlenie, Sofia City Administration], and with concrete assistance from the ministry and BCP rayon committee leaders, the constantly growing social functions of the militia were successfully performed.

A number of practical measures were undertaken to improve the structure, organization and administration of the forces and resources of the People's Militia.

/The new technology/ of automated-information and operational-detection systems /are being introduced; duty units are equipped and functioning at a higher up-to-date level. More effective ways and methods of combating crime and working to improve the protection of public order and traffic safety are being employed. A comprehensive approach to analysis and evaluation of the operational situation is being applied more fully.



In keeping with the demands of the 12th BCP Congress and the formulations of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, that public order must be regarded as an inseparable component of the people's living standard, joint programs and measures are being put into effect by governmental and public bodies and organizations. At the initiative of the BCP GK [City Committee] and the MVR leadership a conference was held with party and public activists on the problems in cutting down crime, idleness, rowdyism and other antisocial behavior in the capital. The GK bureau organized a meeting for the purpose with the rayon inspectors and the public in the wards. Placing the militia units under this dual subordination has had a favorable effect.

All this created realistic preconditions for strengthening the NM agencies and elevating their authority and fighting efficiency. Definite progress was made which increased the contribution of the operational-detection, investigative and protective agencies, as well as the KAT [Automotive Transportation Control] agencies, to the carrying out of party policy and to ensuring healthy public order, the rule of law and traffic safety.

At the same time, as was emphasized at the conference, the NM agencies did not get carried away by numbers in evaluating and reporting the results of their operational and protective activity.

Questions regarding the cooperation of militia details with DOT's [volunteer detachments of workers] and the wider enlistment of the public in the preservation of public order are being solved slowly.

Measures for ensuring safe traffic on the streets and roads are not sufficiently effective and productive of results. Full and effective use still is not made of new technology and preventive control.

A considerable portion of the personnel do not have a good knowledge of the prescriptive enactments and guiding documents, which are not studied or properly enforced in practice. Instances of an uncivilized, coarse and irresponsible attitude towards citizens are not infrequent.

These weaknesses have not always had the necessary sharp attention of the party committees, PPO's and political-educational bodies in the DNM and SGU. The measures taken by them to overcome negative behavior and phenomena have not come to the knowledge of every communist and employee and are not having a sufficiently concrete effect in raising professional expertise and knowledgeability in the work.

As a result of the more purposeful political and organizational work of the party agencies and organizations and the service heads of fire-protection agencies, definite results were achieved during the period under review in executing the Law on Fire Protection and Regulations for its Enforcement and Execution and Council of Ministers Decree No. 52, as well as a number of other party, governmental and internal prescriptive documents. The responsibility and the commitment of supervisors and communists in questions of fire

protection were increased. The social principle in providing fire protection to the national economy was intensified. The International Fire Council has begun to function.

Special attention was given to the introduction of scientific and technical progress into firefighting. Dozens of fires have been effectively extinguished.

The results achieved are not satisfactory, however, considering the increased role and responsibility of the firefighting bodies. Despite the favorable changes that have taken place, the level and rate of introduction of scientific and technical progress into firefighting still are not satisfactory and do not measure up to the general scientific and technical level of the economy. The effect of the wider use of new and modern fire-extinguishing appliances is not appreciably felt. The damage caused by fires, as well as their persistence, gives rise to serious uneasiness.

By holding an expanded ministry board meeting on services to the economy, a seminar on the application of the economic approach and its mechanism, national conferences and other measures, the ministry leadership has determined the directions and ways of increasing the contribution of the MVR agencies to the accelerated development of the country.

In implementation of the decision of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, the work of the investigative bodies was placed on a sound normative basis. With the assistance of the office of the chief prosecutor of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the ministry leadership, documents varying in content and purpose were formulated, by which the investigative apparatus was strengthened structurally and organizationally.

In implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress regarding the strengthening of the socialist way of life and the reduction of negative phenomena and behavior, the service heads and party leaders gave greater attention to activating communists to launch wide-scale and effective preventive work.

Despite the results achieved, the BCP rayon committee believes that preventive activity has not become a constant concern of service heads and party leaders and of all communists. The practical activity of the units and their successes do not meet requirements at the present-day stage.

In implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and the directives of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the ministry and BCP rayon committee leaders have given and continue to give great attention to the nationwide application of the scientific approach in the work of MVR agencies and to the accelerated introduction of the latest scientific and technical achievements in the activity of the ministry. This question is of strategic importance not only for bringing about the intensification and intellectualization of the operational and managerial labor at the present stage, but also looking forward to the future image of the ministry as an important component of the political system.

Since the 12th Congress the measures taken by the party to combat negative behavior and phenomena and a bureaucratic and formal approach, as well as the work to improve administrative services to the public by MVR agencies have taken on special importance. Every day communists and Komsomol members, the individual services and units solve hundreds of problems in this regard and establish contacts with thousands of citizens.

The ministry leadership, the BCP rayon committee, the party leaders and service heads of units are exerting considerable effort to improve administrative services to the public, as a result of which favorable changes have been effected. In almost all links the organization of work has been improved, working time has been lengthened, duty tours have been introduced on days off, a number of procedures have been shortened and simplified, paperwork has been reduced.

There are, however, quite a few instances of officious and bureaucratic treatment of citizens, of incompetence and even failure to comply with the legalities. Sometimes citizens are needlessly and unnecessarily summoned by the investigative, operational, protective and other services as witnesses, for questioning, warnings etc.

It was noted that during the period under review, the ministry leadership, the BCP rayon committee, and the party leaders and service heads of units did /purposeful and concrete work to improve personnel activity/ in keeping with the directions given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the National Conference. Matters of personnel work have a permanent place in the activity of party and service agencies. Under the guidance of the MVR Personnel Administration, specific measures have been undertaken to improve personnel work and to better the selection, instruction and education of employees.

As a result of the unswerving application of the April party line, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has cadres who are ideologically convinced, professionally educated and devoted to the party cause. This is indicated by the fact that during the past 3 years many employees have been awarded high distinctions by the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic for high results achieved, for faultless service, demonstrated heroism and selflessness. Favorable changes in the quality rating of personnel have ensued. More and more highly educated and cultured young people are joining MVR agencies. In almost all units the number of officers with a higher education, and of noncommissioned officers with a secondary education, is by now predominant. The working-class nucleus, especially among noncommissioned officer personnel, has increased.

Despite the measures that have been undertaken, the personnel system is not operating efficiently enough; a number of weaknesses and deficiencies continue to occur. In selection, one of the fundamental Leninist principles of personnel work--the achievement of an organic unity of political and businesslike qualities--is not always applied to the full.

There are also weaknesses and unsolved questions in personnel instruction. The organization and realization of the training process have not been raised to such a level as to meet the needs completely.

In implementation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's directives at the National Conference and of the requirements of Order I-48 of 1980, discipline problems have occupied and continue to occupy an increasingly important place in the overall party-political, organizational and ideological-and-political work of party agencies and organizations. The BCP rayon committee made an inspection in all central units in 1981 of the work of PK's [partiyani komiteti; party committees] and PPO's and of service heads along these lines. The PK's and the leadership of the central units and MVR SGU repeatedly evaluated the state of discipline.

On the basis of the evaluations made, conclusions drawn and directives issued by the Military Administrative Section of the BCP Central Committee and the ministry leadership at the instructional conference with party and service activists, on the eve of the accountability-election campaign in 1982 at all PPO meetings a letter of the BCP rayon committee was read calling attention to the necessity of undertaking party-political measures to improve discipline.

In the ministry there are many party organizations and collectives planning and undertaking interesting initiatives to improve the sociopsychic climate and to create an atmosphere of implacability towards perpetrators of infractions. In such organizations and collectives, communists and employees work under high tension and have committed no disciplinary infractions in years.

The report stressed that the rayon party organization turning out for its 29th accountability-election conference is united, combat-ready and solidly behind the BCP Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov; that it has a rich and meaningful intraparty life and higher skills and abilities for mobilizing and organizing the communists and collectives in the MVR for offensive combat against enemies, criminals and violators.

On the basis of a thoroughgoing analysis of the situation in which party agencies and organizations are operating, the BCP rayon committee devised a comprehensive program for implementing the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and the MVR National Conference of 1 July 1981.

The comprehensive approach was also employed in formulating measures in connection with the survey /for the purpose of elevating the role and fighting efficiency of the primary party organization/ for performance of the tasks resulting from the October (1981) and Varna (1983) national conferences of party, state, economic and public activists and for worthily greeting the National Party Conference.

A favorable role was also played by the joint sessions of the BCP rayon committee with the MVR board regarding the performance of tasks resulting from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Council; with the TNTM [Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity] Council regarding the development and introduction of modern and reliable office machinery; with the rayon control and auditing commission regarding the monitoring and checking of the fulfillment of current decisions. A definite contribution to elevation of the level of party-political work was made by the meetings of Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs, Comrade D. Stoyanov, with the

secretaries of party committees and PPO's and the apparatus of the BCP rayon committee, as well as by the meetings of the rayon committee secretaries with the service heads and party leaders of the units.

The committee gave a great deal of attention not only to the determination of the problems that would be discussed, but also to their precise and clear formulation in the agenda.

As a result of the survey that was made and of the expanded party-political activity since then, the primary party organizations are successfully fulfilling the congress's demands that they become a natural center and social milieu for the direct solution of the complex and important problems which are assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Worthy of mention is the increased ability of the party organizations to concretize party policy in keeping with the specific features and the conditions under which the collectives are operating. The data show that the activism of communists at party meetings is heightened. During the 3-year period about two-thirds of the PPO members took a stand on questions under discussion. This shows that a trend is developing for communists to form an active vital position and for the primary organizations to win recognition as their reliable bulwark. To be sure, the indicator of fruitful work and activity is not so much the number of persons who speak out as the character and content of what they say. In recent years the party organizations have noted a qualitative growth along these lines.

During the period under review favorable changes took place in important aspects of the life and activity of the primary party organizations. They now apply more widely the ways of exerting influence on individuals that have been tested in practice, such as criticism and self-criticism, party assignments, personal reports, the exchange of favorable experience.

Something that merits a high mark is the fact that during the period under review about two-thirds of the party members reported their participation in the fulfillment of the congress's decisions and of the tasks that the MVR agencies perform.

There are also certain deficiencies in the work on personal reports. On some of these no decisions are taken, nor are any specific critical remarks or suggestions made. In quite a few organizations the communists report on their overall work rather than on the individual important aspects of their activity involving the performance of tasks assigned to them.

In implementation of the Decision of the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee, the ministry board and the BCP rayon committee are giving well-merited attention to work with critical remarks and suggestions. To study and solve these, specific tasks and assignments are entrusted to service heads and party leaders.

The problem of improving the quality makeup of the party organizations and of strengthening the party nucleus in all collectives is now being successfully

solved. Party ranks are being replenished from among those Komsomol members and young employees who have been outstanding for their political and moral qualities, their professional experience and authority.

The rayon committee and the party committees in the units have taken great care to enhance the role of party groups in increasing the activism, creativity and initiative of communists in the performance of service functions.

In keeping with the increased demands of the BCP Central Committee, the demands of the congress are being successfully implemented, namely, to intensify the control and regulatory functions of ideological and educational work, to increase its aggressive character and militancy, to accelerate the speed of ideological response and to recognize it as the main form of the party's spiritual link with the employees.

The key principle in the activity of the rayon party organization is Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's formulation: "The specific character of Chekist activity makes special demands on those whom the party trusts to work and fight in this area. First among all these demands are the qualities of the communist--the highly principled, politically mature and active champion of the party line. He must possess high devotion to principle, selflessness and passionate party-mindedness. Chekists must constantly remember that they are our party's political fighters at the hottest spots of the class struggle."

For MVR party agencies and organizations, the task of paramount importance is the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook--the foundation of employees' communist education.

Under the leadership of the BCP rayon committee and as a result of the systematic and steady work of party committees, primary party organizations and propagandists, the process of improving the system of Marxist-Leninist education of personnel continues. Political education helps communists and employees more successfully to orient themselves correctly and make the right appraisal of complex social phenomena and processes, to see the connection between current tasks and final goals and, with the specific methods and means of the MVR, actively to help the party build mature socialism.

In the political education system, however, there still continue to exist--and slowly to be overcome--formalism, didacticism, quotation-mongering and other weaknesses and deficiencies. There are more than a few instances where classes are rushed through in order to "keep to" schedule and report the specified hours. Thorough consideration of problems is replaced by boring moral admonitions and superficial consideration of extremely topical subjects.

For us as communists and employees in agencies of security and public order, the directives of the BCP Central Committee and the government on /the heightening of revolutionary vigilance/ have a special force and urgency.

Class-and-party, patriotic and international personnel education activity has become more substantial, purposeful and effective. More skillful use was made

of the ideological and political charge of anniversaries and celebrations, which enriched the ideological and educational work of the party organizations and collectives and raised the class and patriotic consciousness of employees.

There has been richer and more substantial work by the party organizations and the Derzhinski Rayon Komsomol organization to inculcate in young men and women from the ministry the spirit of the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the people, and by their agencies to build love for and devotion to the BCP, its historic cause and the April policy, the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Joint activity of the Komsomol committees and organizations with the BPFK [expansion unknown] committee and commissions in the ministry is expanding. The direct participation of active fighters and veterans in the job of young employees' class-and-party, moral and patriotic education helps bring about more fully the succession of the generations.

During the period under review there were favorable changes also in the content, organization, forms and methods of mass political work. It is the rayon committee's appraisal that such work successfully contributes to an ideological guarantee of the performance of service functions.

The provision of timely and competent information on important questions of social development and international relations has always had the attention of the rayon committee and the party leaders and service heads of the units. However, there has been little information on questions of the party's cultural policy and the socialist way of life.

Party agencies and organizations are giving attention and concern to individual work with communists, with the individual employee. The scope of individual work has expanded. In addition to work with newly arriving employees and with those showing unsatisfactory results, more specifically work is also being done with so-called "srednyatsi" [average personnel]. The selection and work of teachers have also improved.

Lecture propaganda is actively used for the mastery of scientific knowledge from various fields of theory and practice, which has had a favorable effect on the social activity of employees and on their intellectual growth.

With the help of the BCP Central Committee, a good tradition has been established of systematically using highly qualified Soviet lecturers visiting our country.

The party agencies and organizations in the units are making efforts to change the status of visual propaganda. The survey conducted in 1981-1982, the meetings for the exchange of favorable experience organized by the rayon committee, and the yearly courses to instruct the persons responsible for visual propaganda and the artists have energized and enriched this activity.

During the period under review varied activity was carried on by party, Komsomol and trade-union agencies and organizations and service heads in connection

with the implementation of the program of the leadership and of the BCP rayon committee for the esthetic education of personnel. Considerable experience was accumulated in giving ideological significance to the leisure time of employees and members of their families through more systematic and effective measures for communion with art.

The results achieved in the esthetic education of personnel do not, however, fully measure up to the demands of the Fourth Congress of Culture or to the capabilities and needs of the ministry. The esthetic culture of a great number of employees, especially of NM and PO noncommissioned personnel, continues to be deficient. Esthetization of the working environment requires substantial changes in quite a few collectives and units. There are not enough physical facilities for cultural activity in the ministry and units.

Despite the diverse measures conducted by the rayon committee and the party agencies and organizations (meetings with house managers and passport registrars, conferences with party and services commissions on exchange of information, reception room at the newspaper NARODEN STRAZH etc.), the status of place-of-residence work continues to cause uneasiness. Analysis of the reasons for negative behavior of our employees found in the majority of cases that there is a dichotomy in the behavior and morality of some employees. They behave well and are well esteemed on the job, but at their place of residence they dispense with the requirements of the moral image of the communist, the MVR functionary, and display indifference, lack of personal concern and abandonment of social commitment. Instances are not rare where employees and members of their families fail to safeguard socialist property in apartment complexes, violate the norms of socialist society, fail to participate in the meetings of Fatherland Front organizations, and fail to pay their membership dues.

The period under review was characterized by a continuous rise in the care and attention of the rayon committee and the ministry leadership, of the party leaders and service heads in the units given to the work of young employees.

Their activity concentrated on problems involved in the further performance of the tasks stemming from Comrade T. Zhivkov's letter to the DKMS Central Committee and concretized in the Comprehensive Program for Work with Young Employees, adopted in 1979 and amended and improved in 1983 in keeping with the higher demands of the 12th BCP Congress and the 14th DKMS Congress.

The DKMS rayon committee, and the Komsomol and society committees increasingly gained recognition as able agencies of political leadership. There was improvement in intraorganizational life and in the leadership of Komsomol activity. For its contribution to the education and molding of young MVR employees the rayon Komsomol organization was awarded the Order of the Red Banner in 1983.

The activity of the trade-union organization during the period under review concentrated on the implementation of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of Bulgarian Trade Unions to conduct an inspection in order to raise efficiency and mobilize and expand the creativity and activity of the civilian personnel.



The committee for state and people's control in the ministry and the committees and commissions in the units rendered valuable assistance to the leadership of the MVR and party and service agencies. The inspection that was conducted showed that their work would be still more efficient if they carried on more systematic, thorough, consistent and preventive control activity.

During the period under review the overall activity of the rayon committee was imbued with the aspiration to master and apply more fully the demands of the 12th Party Congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's formulations since the congress. There was improvement in the committee's ability to convert the overall tasks assigned by the party to the people and country into tasks of the MVR party organizations and collectives, simultaneously mapping out concrete ways and means for their practical implementation.

The rayon committee's work proceeded under conditions of the closest unity of action with the ministry leadership, something which helped not only to strengthen and elevate to a higher level the role and authority of the rayon party organization, but also successfully to solve important problems in the varied activity of MVR agencies.

In conclusion, the report emphasizes that the positive results in the work are due to the concrete, systematic and effective assistance and control on the part of the Military Administrative Section of the BCP Central Committee. The guidance of the BCP City Committee was more direct and consistent.

The balance sheet of the work of the BCP City Committee, the party committees and the primary party organizations shows that the rayon organization in the ministry is developing on an upward course and has the energies and ability to perform the tasks assigned to it by the BCP Central Committee.

There was lively discussion of the report. First to take the floor was Comrade /Georgi Anachkov/, deputy minister of internal affairs. He spoke of the international situation, exacerbated through the fault of the imperialists, and of the attempts of the imperialist intelligence centers to undermine the pillars of the socialist system. He emphasized the efforts of the communists in the ministry to foil the subversive intentions of the foreign intelligence services.

The new secretary of the SGU party committee, /Bozhil Bozhilov/, told about the work of the party committee and the PPO's to provide party-political backup for the performance of service functions.

Comrade /Vasil Georgiev/ spoke of the place and role of the information analysis system in improving the quality and efficiency of our work. He gave an important place in his statement to planning, to raising personnel qualifications, to combating paperwork etc.

The main point in the statement of Comrade /Tsvetan Purvanov/ was the introduction of a political approach in the work of communists. He dwelt also on the matter of strict observance of laws, orders and regulations.

The deputy minister and NM director /Ivan Dimitrov/ dwelt on the work of DNM communists to raise quality and discipline as important factors in the intensification of militia activity. He spoke about some favorable trends in militia work to secure good public order and traffic safety on the country's roads, the safeguarding of the economy, the improvement of work style and methods, the application of scientific and technical developments, the heightening of a sense of responsibility etc. Comrade Ivan Dimitrov dwelt also on some unsolved questions.

Comrade /Snezhana Trendafilova/ spoke about measures to heighten the efficiency of the educational and labor process.

Deputy Minister /Kolyu Kolarov/ made an extended statement regarding the matters of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements into MVR practice. He spoke of the great care that the ministry leadership is taking with these matters. The rate at which technology is introduced, however, still does not meet present-day requirements. Comrade Kolarov emphasized that more effort and attention are needed for fuller mastery and safeguarding of the equipment we have on hand.

The brigadier of the construction brigade in the construction unit in the MVR Logistics Administration, /Srebro Gyurov, told how his brigade was working to raise quality and accomplish its production tasks.

/Plamen Tsvetkov/, first secretary of the DKMS rayon committee, told about the assistance which the service heads, party committees and PPO's render to the Komsomol societies. He spoke about the work involved in the professional growth and ideological-and-political tempering of young employees.

In his statement Comrade /Kiril Maslenkov/ dwelt on the question of the quality of personnel work. He spoke about party criteria in personnel study, selection, education and qualifications.

/Tsvyatko Tsvetkov/ spoke about the attempts of the imperialist centers to conduct ideological sabotage among the population and of the fight against it. He dwelt on the work of their PPO's and communists to heighten ideologization in their all-round activity.

/Stoyan Khristov/, party committee secretary at the G. Dimitrov VSSh [Higher Special School], spoke about several problems in ideological work. He dwelt also on some of the forms of Marxist-Leninist education.

Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs, Col Gen /Dimitur Stoyanov/, took a thoroughgoing attitude towards the problems which were set for consideration at the conference. /(We are publishing his speech separately.)/

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov's speech was met and followed with great interest.

The responsibility of the rayon party organization for implementation of the congress's decisions is exceptionally great. The enhancement of political,

ideological and organizational work is a need not only of social development, but also a vital necessity stemming from the exacerbated international, military-political and operational situation. Favorable conditions and preconditions for this have been created. They are to be found in the high-principled, businesslike and creative atmosphere in the ministry and the units. They are to be found in the moral-political and ideological unity of the communists and the entire MVR personnel around the party's Leninist April general line.

There is no doubt that the communists and employees of the ministry will answer with deeds the party's ~~best~~ <sup>best</sup> for high quality, discipline and efficiency in their work and will greet with concrete results the National Party Conference and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country and the creation of the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The conference elected a new rayon committee. At its first session the committee elected a bureau and Comrade /Nikola Lalchev/ to be first secretary.

#### Speech by Minister

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 1 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[Speech of Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, at the 29th accountability-election conference of the MVR rayon party organization: "New and Higher Party Criteria, Mandate of the Times"; abridged version; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrades, the most important thing determining the character and significance of our rayon party conference today, as well as of the party meetings and conferences already held within the MVR system, is the favorable balance sheet for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and the assumption of the tasks stemming from the new theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade T. Zhivkov since the congress, his speech to the Varna Conference and his memorandum to the Political Bureau, taken up at the January 1984 plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

With satisfaction we can say that the MVR accountability-election conferences and meetings have taken place in the spirit and essence of the new party theses, high criteria and demands. There have been manifested an activism, a critical and self-critical attitude, a political maturity and a striving for enhancement of the fighting efficiency of the communists and party organizations to implement party decisions in the future as well.

The ministry leadership shares the evaluations, conclusions and directions to be taken, given in the party committee's report on the activity of the MVR party organization.

During the past 3 years since the 12th BCP Congress the efforts of all party, state, economic and public organizations, of all working people, have been directed towards the practical implementation of the congress's designs.

The period that has elapsed was characterized by large-scale activity of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and, personally, of the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Comrade T. Zhivkov, for further concretization and development of the Leninist April party line. A major contribution in this regard is the theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov regarding the essence and the ways of building the material and technical base of a developed socialist society, regarding improvement of the economic approach and its mechanism, regarding the state-owner and the farmer collective, regarding the democratic spirit and administration, and the conflicts in the development of society at the present stage. They are the theoretical and political foundation for party activity and reveal the present-day mechanisms, means and forces for building mature socialism in practice.

High results have been achieved in all the basic spheres of socioeconomic life. Economic development is stable and dynamic, the working people's material and spiritual needs are more and more comprehensively met, new cultural values are being created, and the program of socialist education of the individual is being successfully realized.

Solid qualitative changes are being wrought in the country on the basis of the economic approach, nationwide intensification and intellectualization, up-to-date scientific and technical achievements and further improvement in social attitudes, democracy and social administration.

Despite the severe climatic conditions and the complex international situation, social development in the country is proceeding in conformity with objective laws and the April strategic party line. This is what underlies all the major gains of the party and people and is the guarantee of new and greater advances in the building of a mature socialist society in our country.

The party committee report and the expressions of opinion quite properly pay a great deal of attention to the National Conference of MVR agencies (July 1981) in which Comrade T. Zhivkov took a direct part. The policy speech of our first party and national leader, the new ideas and approaches developed therein, defined what is paramount and essential in the ministry's activity in implementation of the tasks resulting for MVR agencies from the decisions of the 12th Party Congress.

The theses and directives of Comrade T. Zhivkov and the new party formulations and approaches which have followed since then have become the party-policy foundation defining the character and direction of the political, operational and managerial activity, functions and tasks of MVR agencies at the present-day stage of social development.

Permit me, comrades, to express the sincerest and deepest gratitude and appreciation of all the communists within the MVR system to the Party Central Committee and to Comrade T. Zhivkov personally for the great trust they have shown in, and the multifaceted support and assistance they have rendered to the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On your behalf and on

behalf of all the employees within the ministry, I want to assure the Central Committee and our first party and national leader that /the communists in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, inspired and elated by the constantly evolving April party line, are united, close-knit, loyal and devoted to the Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and always ready to execute with honor any command of the party, always ready to be in the front ranks of the builders and defenders of socialism; that the agencies of the MVR will, in the future as well, be the iron shield and sword for the defense of the socialist gains of our splendid working people./

During the period under review the MVR board and party committee, the service heads and party leaders of the central and territorial units, all communists and the entire personnel worked with high awareness and responsibility for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and of plenums of the BCP Central Committee since then. The ministry board sessions that have been held and the national conferences on problems and tasks for the MVR agencies resulting from the new party documents and directives are of great political, operational and administrative significance.

Ranking importantly and significantly for our activity is the session of the ministry board, held in January 1983 with the chiefs of central and okrug administrations and party committee secretaries participating, and devoted to the theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade T. Zhivkov since the 12th Congress and to the resulting tasks for MVR agencies.

The ministry leadership and board have made efforts to study still more concretely the work in the central, okrug and rayon administrations, to exercise more effective control and render more efficient assistance, to raise the level of operational and administrative activity, to improve work style and methods, to strengthen discipline and the microclimate and give personnel ideological and political training.

Crucial factors in our effort to implement the party decisions were the board sessions (29-30 June 1983), devoted to defending, safeguarding and fostering the development of the economy and worthily greeting the National Party Conference; and the sessions on the rule of law, discipline and prescribed service routine (October and November 1983). The ideas that were developed, the programs that were adopted and the decisions that were taken made possible augmentation of the content and purpose of the activity of MVR agencies.

At the present accountability-election conference of the ministry party organization, in which the chiefs of okrug administrations and party committee secretaries under them are participating, we can report with satisfaction that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, of Comrade T. Zhivkov personally, and of okrug and obshtina party committees, MVR agencies are successfully performing the tasks that flow from the 12th Congress and from the formulations of Comrade T. Zhivkov developed since the congress, viz. to guarantee the country's internal security; safeguard the inviolability of the national boundary; defend, safeguard and foster the development of the economy; and create and consolidate the necessary social organization and healthy public order.

This is the result of the labor and efforts of the entire executive and executive personnel and of all communists and Komsomol members employed in the MVR central, okrug and rayon administrations, for which, on behalf of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and Comrade T. Zhivkov personally, I want to express sincerest gratitude.

These results were achieved with the strictest and most creative observance of a great law: /MVR agencies, being the specialized political and operational apparatus of the party and state, operate at all times and at any time under the direct guidance of the BCP Central Committee! Our communist conscience obliges us to hold this law sacred in the future as well!/  
/

Comrades, the activity of MVR agencies during the period under review took place under complex and clashing foreign political conditions. Through the fault of imperialism, the international situation is exacerbated to the utmost; the United States and its NATO allies are conducting a rash policy of an arms race and preparation for a world thermonuclear conflict. Never before has mankind been faced with the solution of such important and fateful questions demanding a clear and categorical answer. This is, first and foremost, the basic question of peace and war. It is precisely on this score that the responsibility of communists is tremendous. Today the world communist movement, and above all the communist parties in the socialist countries, are faced with a highly humane and noble task--that of preventing the extinction of mankind. As Comrade Yuriy Andropov pointed out to the July (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "The threat of nuclear war hanging over the world makes us reevaluate the basic idea of the activity of the entire communist movement. Communists have always been fighters against oppression and the exploitation of man by man, but now they are fighting also for the preservation of human civilization, for man's right to life."

With the siting of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe the direct threat to peace and the existence of mankind became a palpable reality. "These missiles," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, "are weapons for a nuclear confrontation with socialism. They have a medium radius of action but, figuratively speaking, they have a much wider political radius of action, for global political objectives are pursued with them."

For socialist countries the defense of peace and the strengthening of international security and cooperation is not an on-again off-again task. It is a manifestation of the essence of our political strategy, an expression of the inseparability and organic link between socialism and peace. This strategy, brilliantly formulated and applied in practice by the great Lenin at the very creation of the Soviet state has stood the test of history. It derives from the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism and has solid and real backing in the dynamic economic, social and cultural development of the world socialist community and in the increased political and defensive might of our countries and peoples. Today socialism is an international force and factor capable of exerting decisive influence on the historical process.

In implementation of imperialism's global designs, the intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of the enemy are making a series of structural and

organizational changes, are stepping up their technical armament and spending billions of dollars to carry on espionage, ideological and other subversive activity. Special military and sabotage-and-intelligence formations intended for wartime operations are being strengthened, too. Political and economic intelligence operations are being activated, as are centers for ideological sabotage and psychological warfare in all its varieties. Subversive propaganda activity aimed against us is becoming increasingly unscrupulous, brazen and provocative.

In addition to espionage, ideological sabotage is an especially dangerous form of subversion in its purposes and in the means and methods it uses, for it employs lies, blackmail and slander, brainwashing and disinformation.

The subversive propaganda of imperialism strives to have a total impact on the consciousness and behavior of citizens, to form a value system alien to socialism and to nourish social passivity, apathy and indifference towards the problems of the individual and society.

Under the guidance of the party and with the broad support of the working people, the MVR agencies will valiantly and boldly smash any aggression aimed against our socialist political system, against the national independence of the Bulgarian people and our friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The political responsibility of the MVR agencies naturally is increasing. This necessitates raising class-and revolutionary vigilance, closing ranks, raising operational expertise, and mobilizing forces for still more competent and offensive activity against our class enemies.

During the period under review the problems of the People's Militia were the object of special attention of the party and state leadership and the ministry board. A number of new guiding and prescriptive documents were adopted. The state-social principle was broadened, grew stronger and found modern dimensions in the complex and multifaceted activity of the campaign against crime and for the strengthening of public order and the assurance of safe traffic. Concrete measures were carried out to establish the rayon administrations as basic production links. There was an intensification of the complexity of the work, and the development and application in practice of new forms and tactics of activity, of progressive Bulgarian and Soviet experience. More care was taken to upgrade the professional and ideological-and-political training of employees.

/The results achieved during the past 3 years give reason to conclude that the agencies of the People's Militia are successfully implementing the decisions of the 12th Congress and of the MVR National Conference of 1981./

The crime detection rate improved. The proportion of recidivist crime was reduced. There was improvement in the detection rate for "hot" trails and covert economic crimes; there was an increase in the amount of damages recovered.

In addition, thorough analysis of the operational situation by way of the People's Militia disclosed several serious weaknesses. The level of operational

detective work by the People's Militia still lags behind the changes taking place in the operational situation. Questions involved in the decisive curtailment of the crime rate are being solved slowly. Misappropriations in agriculture have not been got under control.

Therefore the DNM [People's Militia Directorate] must mobilize still more fully all the available forces and resources of the People's Militia and DOT [volunteer detachments of workers] for a decisive improvement of preventive activity, operational detective and protective activity and for the betterment of the administration of People's Militia forces and resources. The DNM and the KAT [Automotive Transportation Control] Section must make an increasingly decisive improvement in their activity to guarantee high traffic standards and safety in keeping with the requirements of the new law.

In implementation of the tasks resulting from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, the Border Troops successfully fulfilled their basic mission--defending and safeguarding the inviolability of the state border. Favorable results were achieved in personnel combat and political training. Better cooperation in protection of the border was effected with other MVR agencies, with DOT and with the population living near the border.

The present-day development of the economy, the concentration of physical assets and the rise in fire and accident hazards necessitate decisive improvement in the organization and results of firefighting activity and reequipping of firefighting bodies with modern fire-extinguishing and alarm devices. For this purpose a program will have to be prepared by 1990. In addition, the quality of the preventive activity of firefighting bodies must be improved in keeping with the new law.

Wide-scale political and organizational activity was launched for implementation of the Political Bureau's decision on the setting up of a unified investigative apparatus, the strictest observance of the laws, the defense of the rights and liberties of citizens, and implementation of the basic directives of the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee regarding execution of the penalty of "deprivation of liberty."

There was more purposeful work on the comprehensive establishment of a scientific training complex and on fulfillment of the ministry's program for the development of science, education, training and refresher training of personnel.

Favorable results were achieved during the past 3 years in materials and equipment supply and in social-welfare activity within the MVR system.

Implementation of the December program proceeded in an ascending line. Some 3902 apartments were built. The new 5-year program targets the building of 8320 apartments.

Pains were taken and energies exerted to improve medical services and prophylaxis. We have grounds for making much higher demands for improvement in the



quality of the therapeutic and prophylactic activity in the health-care institutions and rest homes in the ministry.

Comrades, during the preparation for the National Party Conference, the BCP Central Committee finished elaborating the party strategy approved at the 12th Congress. At the Varna Conference (1983) and at the January (1984) plenum a well-grounded explanation was given of the current formulations and criteria for further improvement of the economic approach, for quality and discipline and for the productivity of labor and social administration.

The problems and tasks of raising quality, discipline, and the productivity of labor and social administration can be solved, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, provided that the operation of economic laws and improvement of the economic approach and its mechanism are most thoroughly studied and concretely applied.

The National Conference on Quality in Varna and the January plenum of the Party Central Committee developed the foundation for seeking out and utilizing more efficient forms in the organization of administration; more-improved methods of planning, financing, and granting of credits; more efficient incentives for introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress and for raising the quality of output produced. There was intensification of the processes of the socialization of production and of the concentration and specialization thereof. Important changes took place in the structure, functions and tasks of economic bodies and organizations. The responsibility of producers for introducing and selling their output in the domestic and international market increased. The link between production enterprises and foreign trade organizations became closer and more direct.

The party task of improving the system of controlling and applying the economic mechanism makes significantly higher and new demands on MVR agencies.

The strength and effectiveness of operational and administrative thinking and action, of political maturity and implacability, of party responsibility and stringency must not be judged according to the ability to see and solve correctly the new problems and tasks in the work of the units.

Every executive and employee, every communist and every unit must draw the necessary conclusions from these formulations of party principles, must see his place and shoulder his responsibility for their implementation.

/We now face with special acuteness the question of the approach and criteria with which we will solve the problems of quality in the operational, administrative and other types of service activity at the Center and locally in the light of the party decisions./

Questions of quality, efficiency and intensification of operational and administrative labor and other types of service activity can be solved only with new ideas and approaches, with modern methods and means. Therefore, a resolute campaign must be waged against inertia and formalism in behavior and thinking.

In his memorandum to the Political Bureau, Comrade Todor Zhiykov pointed out, "The losses of the poor worker in a system must not be made up by the good worker in the same system. Everybody must get what he himself has earned!"

Observance of this golden rule requires our giving thought to the yardsticks and criteria for judging operational work. Unless there are such criteria, nobody can objectively tell who does good work and who does poor. Unless we do away with the averaging-out of results, the laggards will continue in the future to hide behind the back of good workers. And this means that we will only be talking about the effective employment of moral and material incentives and about raising the quality and efficiency of operational labor without changing anything in practice.

The question of criteria and the evaluation of operational and administrative work involves the quality of the final results of operational and other activities and their correspondence to the objectives facing the ministry.

Correct evaluation of the work of MVR employees according to the results of the work of the unit and of each worker is the right way of activating the subjective factor and of providing an incentive for the labor and creativity of all employees. With such an approach it is possible to discover important latent reserves in the activity of units as well as individual employees.

A concrete approach like this can also show up a number of unsolved questions involving the professional qualifications of personnel, the organization of the work, and the political, intellectual and moral status of collectives and the individual members thereof.

Greater specificity and responsibility will thus be introduced into the activity of executive personnel; the part played by the party organizations and service collectives in--and their responsibility for--raising the level and efficiency of the activity of MVR agencies will be heightened.

All this necessitates constant improvement of the political and scientific approach to personnel work, the creation of conditions for making the fullest use of working time, and the stimulation and inculcation of high military discipline and the prescribed service routine. Violators of order and discipline must be resolutely and uncompromisingly repulsed. The activity of every executive and of every party organization must constantly concentrate on these questions.

The January (1984) plenum of the BCP Central Committee once again and with still greater force defined the accelerated introduction of the latest scientific and technical achievements as the important and decisive factor in raising the quality and efficiency of every activity and in the intensification and intellectualization of labor.

This formulation has a significance of its own for us, too. In recent years the leadership has done a great deal to introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress into the activity of MVR agencies. The technical equipment of the units has grown considerably. Surprising results have been achieved in introducing electronic computer equipment and using automated

information systems. A serious stride has been made towards bringing the activity of the scientific links and the G. Dimitrov VSSh [Higher Special School] closer together with the direct operational and administrative activity of the units.

At the same time, we must clearly take into account the weaknesses and unsolved questions and seek ways to overcome them.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's memorandum to the Political Bureau, considered at the January (1984) plenum, points out that the No. 1 basic task and function of every executive in a ministry, corporation, trust, combine or enterprise is technical progress and he must not transfer this function to his deputy. It is precisely the top executive who must bear personal responsibility. This thesis has special force and meaning for our system and for the chiefs of central, okrug and rayon administrations where operational activity must be well coordinated with operational hardware.

Therefore, the ministry leadership hopes that MVR unit chiefs will take the lead in developing and introducing automated systems in operational and administrative activity, as well as modern operational hardware, safety and other devices for decisive improvement of efficiency from their application in practice.

Comrades, the survey of the fighting efficiency of the primary party organizations showed that the communists in the Ministry of Internal Affairs are united and solidly behind the party's policy, that they live a regular organizational life and actively work and strive for implementation of the decisions of the BCP Central Committee and MVR tasks. The party committee has effected proper collective leadership of the activity of the party organizations.

Therefore, permit me, on behalf of all delegates, to express my comradely gratitude to the members of the rayon committee and its first secretary, Comrade Todor Terziev, for their selfless work and personal contribution to the leadership of our rayon party organization. I want also to express gratitude on behalf of the leadership of the ministry and party committee, and of all communists, to the leadership and staff members of the Military Administrative Section of the BCP Central Committee and of the Sofia City Committee for their systematic study of our problems and for their close support and assistance in our daily activity. This assistance and support have always been beneficial and indispensable to us and we are sure that in our future work we will continue to have comradely support and assistance from the Military Administrative Section of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP City Committee in the capital.

The tasks of growing scope and increasingly complex nature that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is performing at the present stage pose new quality and efficiency requirements for party work. This necessitates constantly raising the scientific and practical level of the political-educational and organizational activity of party committees and primary party organizations, and seeking out the most appropriate ways, means and methods of mobilizing personnel to perform the tasks which the Party Central Committee assigns to the MVR.

Systematically increasing the guiding role of party organizations is a constant concern of the Party Central Committee and the MVR leadership and party committee. The work of party agencies is multifaceted--political, social, administrative, organizational. It is most actively present at all stages of goal-setting, programming and planning, as well as in direct implementational activity. Party organizations must study and concretize the problems confronting the units and mobilize the communists to perform service functions.

/Now more than ever, party organizations in the MVR must take the lead in still more active work and effort for innovation in all spheres of activity, for conscientious discipline, activism and initiative, for moral purity and dedication to party principles./

Party organizations must become an even more effective factor in the fulfillment of quality goals, in the decisive improvement of leadership style and methods, in the proper selection of personnel, and in the training of employees with initiative, creative vision and enterprise, for whom the interests of the party and people come before all else. Therefore, the practice of direct participation by party organizations in personnel evaluation and promotion and in the evaluation and performance of service functions must be improved. Party control must become a constant and inseparable function of our primary party organizations. They must take the lead in the campaign for the accelerated introduction into operational and administrative activity of the achievements of the social sciences and of scientific and technical progress.

Party organizations can and must render still more effective assistance to service heads in overcoming difficulties and in resolutely campaigning against old and conservative ways, against minimized responsibility and stringency, against irrational use of the intellectual, operational and moral-and-political abilities of employees, against unequal workloads for them and a leveling tendency in their evaluations, against mediocrity and the failure to make good use of working time, against anybody who violates the laws, discipline and to prescribed service routine.

Along with service heads, the party bureaus, committees and organizations must face the problems of every employee, correctly evaluate his efforts and abilities, and know how to help him at difficult times and in solving the problems that confront the units.

Important requirements and a necessary condition for improving the guiding role of the primary party organization in service collectives are the creation of a principled party atmosphere, support of the New, recognition of good employees, a party attitude of criticism and self-criticism, a concern and struggle for every communist.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is a militarized system whose activity is based on strict observance of the principle of one-man command. Therefore, in our case close intertwining of party and service functions is inevitable and natural. But as the January plenum of the BCP Central Committee warned, the practice of blindly mingling and taking away functions, of transferring responsibilities, hampers the accomplishment of missions.

Our party organizations must also in the future map out and execute still more diverse party initiatives, must display still greater creativity and boldness, and must strengthen and cultivate a sense of responsibility to the party and people. In this way, party organizations will find greater opportunities for their development and for improvement of their leadership role.

Service heads are directly responsible for organizing and carrying out service activity, but the party organization has the right and obligation to help most actively and comprehensively in this work by mobilizing employees and heightening their social activism, initiative and consciousness, their state of organization and discipline. Complete and all-round cooperation of party and service leadership alone can and must create an atmosphere for high-quality work, for healthy discipline and strict responsibility. Party agencies and organizations, it was pointed out at the Varna conference, must take measures for a heightening of discipline and responsibility at all levels and for a conscientious attitude towards questions of quality on the part of all personnel, of all communists, of all working people. A new breeze must begin to blow and sweep away all signs of irresponsibility towards this fateful problem for us.

The impetus which primary party organizations received as a result of the sessions of the ministry board on questions of the rule of law, discipline and prescribed service routine must be reinforced and amplified. It is especially important to establish the criterion that the strength and maturity of the primary party organization will be judged by the final results of operational and administrative activity, by the moral and political state of the collective, by discipline and prescribed service routine, by the style and methods of work and leadership.

The ideological, class-and-party, moral and esthetic education of employees is a problem organically linked with the political character of the work of MVR agencies, with the specific tasks and responsibility. A class-and-party approach presupposes high competence, businesslike methods, a high state of organization, adjustment to humdrum work, a political evaluation of facts and events, and the formation of that specific Chekist character of which Comrade Yuriy Andropov spoke.

Active use must be made of all means for ideological and political education. It is extraordinarily important that our personnel, some of whom have become significantly younger, should fully realize that under the conditions of the international situation, increasingly exacerbated through the fault of imperialist circles, the conscientious, responsible and competent performance of functions and the strictest observance of labor and military discipline, of the laws and norms of socialist morality, are now not only our obligation, but also our duty as communists and patriots.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always been guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and has ceaselessly strengthened and cultivated its indestructible friendship with the great party of Lenin.

In the present-day, exceptionally complex international situation, cooperation with the fraternal agencies of the USSR and the other socialist countries must

be strengthened and cultivated still more so as to wage war still more successfully and offensively against the class enemy and his special services.

Comrades, permit me on behalf of the delegates to our rayon party conference, on behalf of all the communists and employees in the MVR system, to assure the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, that we are well aware of the new stage in socioeconomic development and of the nature and directions of the new ideas contained in the theoretical formulations and practical approaches of our chief party leader regarding the building of a mature socialist society; that we well understand and appreciate the complexity of the international situation and the aggressive intentions and preparations of the American imperialists and their NATO allies to set off a nuclear war.

That is why we will invest all our energies and abilities to shoulder and perform the new tasks and to mobilize the strength and energy of all communists and employees of the MVR; that is why we will be a still mightier bulwark of the party and state for the defense and prosperity of our socialist homeland, the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Here's to a worthy greeting of the National Party Conference and the 40th anniversary of the glorious Ninth-of-September socialist revolution in Bulgaria!

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VIGILANCE AGAINST FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE URGED

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 1, 1984 pp 3-12

[Editorial: "High Vigilance--A Tested Weapon Against Enemies"]

[Text] "...while the capitalist system still exists, the paramount duty of the party and the organs of national defense, of State Security and the whole Bulgarian nation is to manifest unremitting vigilance against the enemies of socialism, to struggle to avert their hostile and subversive activity in time, to be always ready to defend their country..."

(from the program of the Bulgarian Communist Party)

The revolutionary vigilance of the communists and soldiers in the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, safeguarding state and military secrets, maintaining a constantly high combat readiness, are the most important conditions for a reliable defense of our socialist fatherland.

V.I. Lenin, taking into account the inevitable and fierce struggle between the two world systems--capitalism and socialism--defined revolutionary vigilance and safeguarding secrets as one of the most important factors in defending socialist society. Lenin's precept, "to be on the alert," is an irrevocable duty of every soldier, even today.

Many times after the victory on 9 September, our leader Georgi Dimitrov stressed that high revolutionary vigilance is a vital necessity.

The question is especially important and of great significance now, when the military and political situation in the world is extremely tense, due to the imperialist countries and most of all the "crusade" against the forces of socialism, which has been undertaken by the ruling establishment of the USA. The imperialist circles report that the period of detente has been to the advantage of socialism, which has won new positions. For this reason, they again put forth the strategy of operating from a position of strength. Tremendous forces and means are being put into action to realize their aggressive intentions against the countries of the socialist community and everything that is progressive in the world. The military preparations of

the Pentagon and NATO have reached unprecedented proportions. Measures are being taken to improve industries' readiness to mobilize; stocks of weapons and material resources are being increased. The idea of a sudden attack has firmly established itself among the strategic concepts of NATO's strategists. The placement of missiles in Europe for a first strike, a disarming nuclear attack against the USSR and the other socialist countries, is a new, flagrant proof of this. We are witnessing a number of aggressive acts and provocations, among which the aggression in Grenada, the "peace-keeping" activities in Lebanon, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the defense of "democracy" in El Salvador, and many others are especially evident.

In his speech at the international meeting-dialogue on peace and trade unions, held in Sofia in October, Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out that "the moment in which we live is extremely difficult and important for the future destiny of human civilization," and that "there is no other problem more important than the problem of preserving peace, on which the destiny, prosperity, and existence of not only separate classes, separate nations, but of all human beings, depend."

There should be decisive resistance to the adventurous courses undertaken by the Reagan administration. In his declaration of 24 November 1983, Comrade Yu. Andropov stressed: "The Soviet Union and the other countries belonging to the socialist community cannot close their eyes to the 'crusade' declared by Washington against socialism as a social system...", that "the Soviet Union and its allies will by all means take the necessary measures in order to guarantee their security..."

We are witnesses to a powerful move of the nations for peace, to more and more coordinated activities by the forces of socialism and of all adherents of peace in the world to prevent a worldwide thermonuclear catastrophe.

The sudden strain in the international situation is accompanied by an increasing intensification in the subversive activities of the special services, the centers of ideological subversion and psychological war against the socialist states, including the Bulgarian People's Republic and its armed forces. At the present moment, this activity is widespread and ruthless in nature. The imperialist countries have set aside huge resources for maintaining a powerful intelligence apparatus and repressive organs in order to attain supremacy in this area, as a prerequisite for realizing their political and military-strategic plans.

The rights of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the USA are being constantly expanded. The subversive activity of the enemy's special services at the present time is being conducted in a coordinated way, on a large scale, simultaneously in the political, economic, and scientific-technical as well as military areas, under the personal guidance of the state leaders of the NATO member nations.

As a solid link within the socialist community and an active member of the Warsaw Pact Treaty, the Bulgarian People's Republic has been chosen as an important site for intelligence activity in the plans of the enemy's special



services and centers for ideological subversion. In their unrestrained aspiration to prepare for war, they count on weakening, most of all, our armed forces. They hope to win a victory in a clash with us, relying to a great extent on surprise. They make all kinds of efforts to penetrate the intelligence related to our country's defense capacity, the combat readiness and the capabilities of our armed forces.

In order to gather information, foreign intelligence is using the most up-to-date means, applying various forms and methods, depending on the concrete situation and the goal which has been set. The present state of science and scientific-technical progress and the application of its achievements in the field of intelligence has made it possible to conduct intelligence work at long distances, including from outer space. Advanced air control systems are being built. The radio electronic situation in our country is monitored at dozens of intelligence points, including by two AWACS-type reconnaissance airplanes operating over the territory of Turkey. Institutes for scientific research and analysis centers, equipped with modern apparatuses, at which an enormous amount of information is analyzed, compared and synthesized, have been established. The enemy's intelligence services more often and more widely use such reliable forms and methods, established in intelligence practice, as recruiting agents, questioning our citizens, eavesdropping on conversations, visual observation of sites of interest, and others. The foreign intelligence services make efforts to establish and create contacts with persons who are inclined toward loquaciousness, boastfulness, self-assertion, negligence and absent-mindedness, love of money, with few moral inhibitions, from whom they can easily extract valuable information. They continue their unabated activity in processing a tremendous amount of material from the mass media, such as radio, movies, television, the press, exhibitions, symposia, scientific and cultural exchange, and others. What precisely are they interested in? Generally speaking, everything that is related to our social and political life; and in the military area, the following data: organization and location of the units and formations of the Bulgarian People's Army, the number of personnel, armaments, degree of combat readiness, arena of probable military activities, communications, liaison facilities, storage systems, and others. They pay particular attention to the political and moral condition and discipline of the personnel. Through the Bulgarian People's Army, they are trying to penetrate to the secrets of the Soviet army, navy, and air force.

Every military serviceman is a bearer of information, to a greater or lesser extent, concerning questions which represent a military secret. During peacetime, the harmful consequences of violating the requirements of safeguarding secrets are not always seen and accounted for by everyone; there is a tendency to minimize and underestimate this question. Within the context of the international situation as it is at this moment, however, even insignificant data that might be leaked to the enemy would give the latter more or less an advantage and could lead to severe consequences and victims in the case of armed conflict.

The majority of military servicemen have correctly evaluated this question from a political point of view. There are many cases of vigilance shown by

the military, which demonstrates that the struggle against enemy reconnaissance work has been correctly interpreted by all personnel as their duty. There are quite a few examples which show that communists and military people can display high vigilance, resourcefulness, and ingenuity during important military undertakings and troop training; they intercept the efforts of foreign diplomats and citizens who are attempting to gather important data about the Bulgarian People's Army, to photograph combat equipment, to penetrate military sites, to conduct ideological propaganda and demoralizing activity, and so forth. As a result of vigilance displayed on the part of Privates Dobrev and Galinov and army officers Gochev and Popov, the Italian citizens Paolo Farsetti and Gabriella Trevison were arrested while they were carrying out tasks for Italian intelligence, collecting data about military units and sites in our country.

During the past few years, a number of military reconnaissance agents, acting under the cloak of diplomatic immunity, have engaged in impertinent activities, gathering military information. As a result of high vigilance shown by military servicemen and members of their families, and by citizens as well, their activities were interdicted. During the Shield-82 training exercises, with the active participation of military servicemen and local citizens, the British military attache was caught while photographing military equipment. The efforts of dozens of foreign citizens to penetrate training fields and get closer to important military sites were prevented. It is necessary to publicize these positive examples.

The enemy's increasing activity poses the necessity of decisive counteraction, of strengthening the political approach toward the question of safeguarding state and military secrets, strict compliance with the requirements of the regulations for all personnel, especially the commanders. It is necessary to improve checking on persons admitted to headquarters, units, and military sites. In this connection, the question of improving the vigilance of the functionaries on round-the-clock duty is particularly important. It should be made clear when first dealing with this matter that the conviction established among some of the military servicemen, who think that with the great capabilities of contemporary technical reconnaissance facilities it is difficult to safeguard state and military secrets, has a detrimental influence. This is a dangerously misguided opinion which seriously harms combat readiness. Some data related to lost secret materials, which have later been found, show that there are still isolated officers, sergeants, and ordinary servicemen who allow serious deviations from the requirements stated in orders and instructions for working with such secret materials. This makes it necessary to improve the order, first of all, in headquarters, at electronic and computing centers, and in the other links where important military information is concentrated.

An essential factor for safeguarding secrets which is sometimes underestimated is the responsibility of those working in sectors saturated with confidential data. This requires not hiring people who are unsuitable for working in these sectors of the armed forces. Well-prepared people, acquainted with the requirements of the appropriate documents, disciplined and skillfully guided and controlled by their commanders, would be a serious obstacle against

divulging and leaking important military data. The underestimation and misunderstanding of these questions, although they are well known, is disastrous at the present, extremely tense moment.

It is written in more than one set of instructions for the Western special services: "Loquaciousness and boastfulness are weaknesses characteristic more or less of every human being. Look for people who like to talk and to boast, practice listening to them for hours. They will always fall into a skillfully designed trap." It should be clear to everyone that cutting off superfluous talkativeness, boastfulness, the loss of secret documents and topographic maps, compliance with the requirements of Army Secret Management and good disguising and keying are a serious barrier against the enemy's penetration of our military secrets. It is necessary to conduct everyday educational work on these questions, to avoid underestimation, to undertake active measures for safeguarding state and military secrets.

Every military serviceman should know that he could fall into a situation in which he could become a source of information that is of interest to the enemy. This could happen voluntarily or involuntarily. "Voluntary" collaboration ends sooner or later. "Involuntary" collaboration is sometimes more dangerous than the voluntary kind because the person does not account for what he has done. It usually happens when the serviceman acquainted with confidential data has the above-mentioned weaknesses. Important channels widely used by the enemy in order to obtain information are related to trips abroad by military servicemen and their families, marriages with foreign citizens, official receptions and diplomatic visits to institutions for higher military education, correspondence, and so forth. It is characteristic for our country to be visited by many foreigners, guests, tourists, travelers in transit, and others. The enemy skillfully uses this flow in order to send intelligence and reconnaissance agents and persons with a hostile attitude. This imposes vigilance on the part of military servicemen toward each contact with a foreigner. Our attitude should be such that the enemy cannot find followers, remains isolated, and has a much more difficult time fulfilling his tasks.

There are many ways in which confidential data announced at officially visited civil institutions, reflected in personal correspondence, shared at public places, could reach the enemy. The military serviceman should know the people with whom he is in contact, should select the environment in which he moves, should evaluate which people are approaching him and what their aims are. High revolutionary vigilance, however, has nothing to do with an obsession about spies or suspicion; this is most of all the capability of recognizing hostile activity and reacting to it skillfully.

Enemy intelligence services are working skillfully to attain their goals, they take advantage of the possibilities for socializing with our citizens, especially the military. Blackmail and provocations abroad, refined and insidious ways of offering services, flattery, ransom, expensive presents and involvement in illegal and amoral activities are actively used in recruiting persons or for extracting necessary information from them. These enemy activities are particularly important in the contemporary situation of increased exchanges all along the line on our own and on foreign territory.

Citizens who work abroad are exposed to the worst, constant pressure, blackmail and threats, which means that they should be trained to be highly conscious, have a sense of responsibility and revolutionary vigilance.

The necessity of high political vigilance on the part of communists and military people from the armed forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic is also justified by the increasing role and importance of the ideological struggle and strengthening of ideological subversive activity on the part of the enemy.

Comrade Yu. Andropov pointed out that a fierce struggle is now being waged for winning the hearts and minds of military people, and the future of human civilization depends to a great extent on the outcome of this struggle.

The offensive of ideological subversive activity is now distinguished by the following more important characteristics: the unconcealed aspiration of the most aggressive forces of imperialism in the world, led by the USA, to transfer ideological counteropposition to the field of international relations; constant expansion of ideological penetration into all areas of social life; increased aggressiveness of anticommunist propaganda aimed at ideological and political "softening"; weakening and elimination of the forces struggling for peace and socialism; use of the newest forms and methods of propaganda activity; close coordination of anticommunist campaigns on an international scale.

The political and ideological complex of the USA, with its military-industrial complex, is also in the foreground of this struggle against socialism. It develops the ideological basis for the contemporary aggressive military and political strategy of the USA and NATO.

During recent years, this complex has been reinforced and renewed with advisors, consultants, and experts from the circle of the most outstanding professionals (Kissinger, Brzezinski, Caine and others). Leading academic and university ideological and scientific theoretical links in the USA are included and organized in a unified system in the "nerve center" of the complex. What is definitive is that this is under the direct leadership of the extreme rightwing circles of Reagan and the American monopolies, which are most closely related to the military and political complex.

During the last few months, its activities have led to unprecedented dimensions in anti-Soviet and anticommunist hysteria in the USA and the West, by using fabricated and directed provocations, such as the South Korean airliner which was conducting a spy flight over the territorial airspace of the Soviet Union, ascribing Bulgarian participation in the attempt to kill the head of the Roman Catholic Church in 1981, and so forth.

These impertinent activities were done after long preparation on behalf of the intelligence services and centers for ideological subversion. The imperialist circles needed them in order to divert the attention of world public opinion away from the unprecedented militarization and placement of nuclear missiles in Europe, which they have taken on.

From an ideological point of view, the enemy relies very much on ideological subversion in this whole system of psychological warfare against socialism. This is an acute form of subversive activity that includes intelligence, organizational and propaganda activities, operations and measures aimed at stirring up hostile ideological and political influence on our citizens and enticing them into antisocialist actions. The main feature of ideological subversion is that it tries to influence the awareness that, on the basis of outwardly reasonable preconditions, a conviction is being formed, and that is what the enemy needs, that is, to accept its point of view. Subversion is different from open propaganda activity only in the way it achieves its goals. The main thing here is disguise, concealment, and deception of the society.

Through ideological subversion, imperialism aims at crushing the moral and political unity of the army and the people, at setting soldiers against commanders, at belittling the force of our arms and the power of the armies of the socialist community, at opposing the Bulgarian People's Army to the Soviet Army of the USSR.

In order to erode the consciousness of military servicemen, it uses various channels of penetration, forms, methods, and means. These are most often radio propaganda, television, correspondence, personal contacts, and others. Various emissaries import, through various channels, and circulate within the country hostile, anti-Soviet, antisocialist, anti-Bulgarian, religious, pornographic, and other literature. In some isolated cases such literature is sent to military units, libraries of the People's Army Club, or dropped in mailboxes of military servicemen, and so forth.

Some military servicemen are influenced by the ideological subversion--they listen to foreign radio stations, establish and maintain contacts with foreigners, become fascinated with Western fashion and ways of life. It is necessary in such cases that organized individual-based education work be conducted by the commanders and political organs, party and Komsomol organizations to prevent these military servicemen from being used by the enemy and its subversive activity.

Lately the enemy has staked a lot on hostile activity which is carried out on the basis of religion, with the unique goal of turning believers into an active political opposition. The existing sects are being strengthened and new ones are being established, and they receive financial and material aid; different religious materials are being imported. The aspiration is to penetrate, through them, to the armed forces personnel as well.

Under the conditions of broad psychological warfare and ideological subversion conducted by the Western centers, the political vigilance of the military community ought to be raised to a qualitatively new level, characterized by comprehensiveness, activity, and offensiveness.

Revolutionary vigilance is characteristic of ideological well-formed people. Military servicemen who have not built a Marxist-Leninist worldview are easily influenced by ideological subversion and represent a significant treasure for the enemy. Elevated revolutionary vigilance requires that correct political

evaluation be made for each phenomenon or event, in order to prevent, in a timely way, the efforts of politically immature military servicemen from disseminating aspersions, slander, jokes, etc., against our state and social regime, as well as from undermining trust in the state and party leadership. There should be a strong reaction to the efforts made to create political moods by using difficulties in military life. Military servicemen should not be allowed to be fooled and stand up for pacifism; it should be made clear to them where the threat to peace comes from.

Class hatred against the enemy is needed in order to establish a solid Marxist-Leninist world view, international and patriotic education. Its true image ought to be shown, its insidious methods and the means which it uses should be revealed. Antienemy propaganda should contribute more fully to educating military servicemen for strong, revolutionary vigilance. These questions should also be discussed with their families so that they become a stronghold which the enemy will not be able to conquer.

Elevated vigilance means preventing, in a timely manner, the enemy's intentions and hostile manifestations. The main thing is not to allow military servicemen to commit crimes. This requires that commanders should know their subordinates thoroughly, they should be close to them so that there are no surprises, they ought to provide a substantial personal example of keen vigilance.

The questions of educating to attain high revolutionary vigilance are a prime task for the commanding staff, political organs, party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations. The situation now demands that this activity receive constant attention. The activity of the ideological enemy should be opposed by our communist worldview, the successes of real socialism, its advantages over capitalism. The nature of contemporary warfare, of the crusade against socialism, should be explained from a clear class-party position. It is necessary to resist firmly some incorrect concepts about war and peace. Today peace and socialism can be defended with reliability only by means of constant combat readiness, elevated vigilance, and readiness to inflict an overwhelming, sobering blow to every lover of military adventures. It is necessary to establish daily skills and habits for elevated vigilance, not by obligation, but by implication of a raised consciousness, a sense of duty and responsibility.

An important role in this respect is given to the party and Komsomol organizations as educators of military collectives in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, loyalty to their brothers in social class and arms, to the great Soviet nation. This strong union, which is based on constant combat readiness and conscious revolutionary vigilance, will be a guarantee for a worthy defense of the interests and security of our dear socialist fatherland--the Bulgarian People's Republic.

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CALL FOR GREATER STRESS ON PATRIOTIC, INTERNATIONAL UPBRINGING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Ivan Bajcura, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at P.J. Safarik University in Presov, Slovakia]

[Text] Mankind entered the year 1984 with great apprehension about its future. World imperialism, led by the USA, aggravated the international situation in unprecedented measure by its aggressive policies, set the arms race into a new feverish spin, proceeded with the stationing of new offensive weapons in several West European countries, and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe. Through this policy of aggression and confrontation, the most reactionary forces of world imperialism want to stop progressive development in the world, to regain the lost historical initiative, to change the existing balance of power to their advantage, and to turn back the wheels of history.

By its very nature, this policy is downright reactionary and extraordinarily dangerous for the prospect for peace. It is sharply contradictory to the basic interests and needs of the vast majority of mankind. Thus, no task is more important than the task to build a firm dam against this adventurous line in world politics, to avert the danger of thermonuclear war, to strengthen peace, to create conditions for the full realization of the fundamental human right--the right to life--and to secure a peaceful future for mankind. Our socialist fatherland, every citizen who cherishes his native land and is deeply committed to the idea of peace and socialism, must participate in fulfilling this task.

In the Center of Attention

We at P.J. Safarik University are paying foremost attention to problems concerning developments in the current international situation, to the struggle against the danger of atomic war and for the preservation of peace. These problems are an organic part of the work plan of the university, of its faculties, of its institute of Marxism-Leninism, of its departments, of the head teachers of classes and groups, of the heads of social organizations. At the very beginning of the 1983-84 academic year

we have acquainted students, teachers, and other employees with the main results of the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Atomic War.

Recently, we have taken quite a number of measures thoroughly to acquaint all our students, teachers, and other employees with the extremely important resolutions of the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which dealt primarily with the development and evaluation of the current international situation as it had been analyzed in the report of the board of the CPCZ Central Committee presented by Comrade Vasil Bilak. To acquaint students with these extraordinarily difficult current issues we are using not only the process of curricular instruction but also extracurricular activities. In cooperation with the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], for instance, we organize chats, question-and-answer evening meetings, broadcasts from the dormitory radio studio, and the like. In analyzing and evaluating the current international situation and the dangers of war--today's main, key problem--we consider it to be of utmost importance that the students and all our workers properly understand where the danger of annihilation that threatens mankind is coming from, what class and political roots it has, who is responsible for it.

At the same time we show that international imperialism, as the examples of Grenada or Lebanon prove, is capable of trampling down even the noblest political and moral principles and norms, and that the only thing it respects is power. Therefore, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other fraternal socialist states are compelled to take measures to increase their ability to defend themselves in order to be able to resist the imperialistic policy of strength and confrontation. Teachers, students, and other employees of our university fully understand the legitimacy of the defensive measures adopted by the governments of the USSR, CSSR and GDR in the interest of increasing the defensive strength of the socialist commonwealth. We fully support the fundamental peace policy of the USSR and of the socialist countries. We see again and again that peace and socialism are inseparable, that socialism can demonstrate the full extent of its strength, its merits, and its deep humanistic nature only under the condition that peace is preserved and strengthened. War is foreign to socialism; it is our enemy.

In organic unity with education for peace and peaceful cooperation, and as its logical consequence, we at our university are engaging in intensive international and patriotic education. We are guiding our students to the understanding that a free socialist Czechoslovakia can exist and successfully develop only in unity and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist commonwealth. For education in the spirit of brotherhood, cooperation, and indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union we are using extensively important events and anniversaries, friendly contacts with the fraternal university in Uzhorod, exchanges of student brigades, fraternization with the garrisons of the Soviet armed forces on our territory, cooperation with Soviet lecturers, and the like. Competition in recruiting Russian poetry and prose, evenings in Soviet science or music clubs, etc., also fulfill such aims.



Recently, bourgeois propaganda has been concentrating with particular intensity on spreading its concept of science and scientific and technical progress. Exploiting some problems and difficulties in the development of socialist countries, it has been trying to prove that socialism is incapable of securing steady advancement of scientific and technical progress and of reaching the peak of scientific and technical revolution. In the spirit of the resolutions of the Eighth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the September session of the CPSL, and in absolute harmony with objective reality, we keep pointing out that it is precisely socialism that opens unlimited possibilities for the advancement of scientific knowledge, that only in a socialist milieu does scientific and technical progress develop hand in hand with social progress, that only there does it serve man, his welfare, and the development of all his potential, that only there does it safeguard peace.

#### The Mission of a Scientific Worker

The wolflike nature of imperialism, on the contrary, leads to the fact that the greatest conquests of human genius are used for the construction of ever more perfect and ever more deadly weapons, and that these can be used at any time for the destruction of all of human civilization. For a scientific worker in our society there can be no higher goal than putting all his creative powers, talents, skills, and abilities fully into the service of socialism and contributing to the safeguarding of its universal and harmonious development. The policy of the CPCZ as has been documented again by the Eighth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, opens wide vistas for scientific workers' free and creative work, for the application of science and its results to all areas of societal life. It is a matter of honor for scientific workers to participate as actively as possible in the shaping and the realization of party policy, to contribute through their efforts to the building of developed socialism and to worldwide efforts of progressive powers for safeguarding peace. Such a stand ensues from the very nature of science, which is called to serve man and amplify his strength in his struggle for human happiness.

#### Tasks of the Foremost Urgency

The ideological war which the reactionary forces of the old world are leading against us demands that we intensify communist upbringing of the young generation and strengthen its positive relationship to socialism, to the policy of the CPCZ, to the USSR and the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

The quality and intensify of our educational activity must be high enough to create immunity in the young generation against bourgeois ideology. Bourgeois ideology and its expressions are not dangerous and contagious to a person who has a firm political relationship to socialism and to the policy of the CPCZ and who adheres to the scientific worldview.

The [party] line and the resolutions of the 16th Congress and of the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, the demanding tasks of building a developed socialist society, the unavoidable fight against the danger of thermonuclear war, and the vital need to secure a peaceful perspective for the development of our fatherland and the world as a whole, all compel us to approach our duties in this manner.

12435

CSO: 2400/236

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CZECH PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES NEW EDUCATION LAW

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by Helena Blahova: "For the Development of Education"]

[Text] Over the past few weeks the committees of the CNR [Czech National Council] have been giving much thought to issues of our school system. Their discussions form a part of the preparations for the upcoming plenary session of the supreme Czech representative body, whose agenda includes two amendments concerning schooling and a report on the future development of the Czech cultural and educational system.

As we know, in 1978 we embarked on a comprehensively conceived extensive project of socialist culture and education. We are acting consistently in accordance with this long-range program, which will introduce several changes in organization and especially content. In the past few years we have fulfilled all of the basic prerequisites and conditions for introducing compulsory 10-year school attendance, a program which will change the 8-year primary schools into 10-year ones, from which pupils will go on to various fields of study or training. It is now time firmly to anchor some of the relevant changes. The Federal Assembly will deliberate on a proposal of the so-called school law and the CNR will discuss those standards which come under its jurisdiction--amendments concerning state control of schooling and school facilities.

The agenda of the CNR is not, however, limited only to enacting amendments. The supreme Czech representative body also has a control function--its mission is to study how the measures which have been recommended and adopted are actually put into practice and how effective they are. For this reason groups of deputies have over the past few weeks been sent out to different places to determine the current state of affairs on the basis of the general information given them by the Czech Ministry of Education, to listen to suggestions of educators and the general public concerning the local development of the school system. Their targets included the KNV [Regional National Committee] in the Eastern Bohemian region, the DNV [District National Committee] in Prague 1, and the ONV's in Ceska Lipa, Klatovy, and Sumperk. At informal discussions with the officials of these national committees and with educators, and by visits to schools and school facilities, they acquired much valuable information, which was placed on the agenda of the committees of the CNR and will be discussed at the plenary session as well.

Even though the situation may vary at the different places visited, results of research confirm that the aims and goals of the Czechoslovak system of culture and education are in accord with the long-term plans for constructing a socialist society, and that the gradual reconstruction of the content and organization of the school system will meet with success. The principles of the long-range project for the development of our school system are at the focus of constant attention both of organizations of the National Front and of the general public. Despite indisputably positive signs, however, there are certain shortcomings, which must be eliminated at the individual levels.

A major positive sign is the building up of the network of nursery schools, with the participation of the national committees, enterprises and organizations of the National Front. Things are not going so well, however, concerning the responsibility for their operation. While, for example, in Eastern Bohemia factories, institutions, and agricultural cooperatives have permanent responsibility for the upkeep of 33 percent of these preschool facilities--and in some parts of the region the figure is over 40 percent--in the district of Prague 1 not a single nursery school has yet been given such "patronage."

A new problem is now arising in connection with nursery schools, however. The baby boom has shifted to the elementary schools. The citizens are thus now called upon to concentrate their efforts to find new occupations for the nursery school teachers.

Regarding elementary schools, the deputies determined that the children are actively interested in the new subject matter, including previously unfavored subjects. At all the talks, however, there were comments that, in view of the amount of material covered, there was little time for review and practice, that the number of hours [of classes] stipulated was overburdening, and that every missed hour caused problems. For example, in the Sumperk district nearly one-fourth of the pupils have trouble with the subject matter. The idea that compulsory elective subjects be reclassified as a part of the basic curriculum is a good one, but the volume of material covered in these subjects is excessively demanding and is evidently meant for above-average pupils. We must, of course, continuously increase our demands [on pupils] but only up to a definite profitable limit, since the children are supposed to be studying without their parents' help and the time they spend in school should be time in which they feel comfortable, and not afraid that they might not master the material thoroughly. Discussions of the deputies with educators and the public sometimes touched upon apparently marginal topics, such as the system of musical education. At the ONV in Klatovy it was mentioned, among other things, that the volume of music theory covered leaves little time for singing. We are, after all, traditionally a nation of musicians, and it is a pity that our young people spend more time listening to tapes than they do actually singing or playing instruments.

A highly relevant issue is how to enlist experts in the skilled trades to teach at vocational schools. The criteria for these teaching positions are very demanding, and teachers of skilled trades as a rule have lower salaries than they would receive in industry; in addition, they are required to be both experts in their specialty area and good teachers. The current state of affairs in our colleges also formed a part of the research agenda. It was discovered during

informal talks that the number of girls enrolled in trade schools has grown so that more places have been freed for boys at gymnasiums. Proposals are thus being worked out for the broader selection of college students. This is especially important in the area of technical and teachers' colleges. There is no evidence of a high degree of feminization in our schools. It was also suggested that the teachers' colleges enroll primarily students from "local" sources, who would presumably return to their places of origin to work.

This forms only a small part of the information acquired by the deputies of the CNR in the course of their investigations. Their work, which was, by the way, a preliminary to all the basic issues being discussed by the CNR, is proof that the members of the supreme Czech representative body are properly fulfilling their function in systematically studying the needs of society and its members.

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TRADE UNIONS CRITICIZE MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jan 84 p3

[Article by Frantisek Zdobina]

[Text] Reports presented at meetings of central organs are more often than not of a general character. This needs to be so, otherwise substance would be lost in the citation of examples. These usually appear only later in discussion contributions. While such was the case at the December session of the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], the character of the discussion contributions was rather remarkable. They went beyond the theses of the reports and posed questions in such an urgent manner that they provide food for much thought. For they focused on one of the most difficult tasks of our time, namely the problem of management, of which V.I. Lenin wrote with foresight: "Following the winning of political power...economic management becomes the most difficult, most important and potentially most satisfying task of the socialist revolution."

At the URO meeting, Jindrich Nacher spoke of how certain senior officials are making this most difficult task a bit easier for themselves. We are loosely paraphrasing his contribution, while maintaining its angry tone: "For months now, hundreds of railroad workers have been angered by the machinations in the campaign to economize in fuel consumption. It is in society's interest that such savings be as substantial as possible and the railroad workers tried to achieve this goal. Then a problem emerged. Since the railroads purchased less oil than had been planned, the Benzina enterprise threatened penalties, as did the bank, and people were losing bonuses."

The problem was "resolved" in a manner reminiscent of a crazy farm, according to J. Nacher. From time to time, when it appears that the railroad workers might be penalized for exceeding the oil savings plan, they drag out a locomotive which happens to have the greatest oil consumption, attach a few freight cars and send the train on a trip of several hundred kilometers, usually at night. Meanwhile, the electric locomotives are resting.

Oil consumption thus returns to the customary level and everyone is happy that the savings plan had not been surpassed, the planners are pleased at how cleverly they resolved the problem. The workers, on the other hand, shake their heads and their blood begins to boil.

It took several months to put an end to this quaint resolution of a "complicated problem." "But where is the guarantee," asks J. Nacher, "that similar practices will not be repeated tomorrow or next year?"

Is a guarantee possible at all, since we know that no fundamental changes in management mechanisms are contemplated at present, that economic instruments are not omnipotent, and not a single one of them is capable on its own of affecting the entire economic process?

#### It Happens Every Year

What we described above in the case of oil savings is by no means unique. Criticism of detouring society's interests has been heard often enough, recently with extraordinary emphasis at the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and later at the CPSL Central Committee meeting. Contributors to the discussion warned that behind well- and very well-managed enterprises there lurk some whose managers and other senior officials rejected their assigned tasks for 1984, while they would be willing to come several times when bonuses are being distributed.

CPSL Central Committee department chief Rudolf Netik stated that in the Slovak Socialist Republic economic production units "pledged" a performance of 1-3 percent lower than the plan proposal for this year (strange vision of how to improve our living standard); they did not know how to ensure the export of products worth Kcs 2.6 billion in franco prices to the non-socialist states, and Kcs 2.75 billion worth of products for the domestic market. They even took it for granted that quality would be lower than this year's average.

CPSL Central Committee member and leading secretary of the city party committee in Bratislava, Comrade Gejza Slapka, spoke at the meeting on how enterprises and organizations submit their counterplanning proposals. He described their content as one-sided, aimed at production indicators related to the formation of wage funds.

Something like this occurs every year to a degree which is difficult to analyze. It is a tactic of concealing reserves, an effort artificially to facilitate entry into a new planning period, regardless of what it would cost others and society as a whole, an attempt to draw as much money as possible from the state treasury while putting in as little as possible.

This sort of thing recurs every year. How is it possible? Such behavior is in direct contradiction to the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the CPSL Congress and all Central Committee sessions dealing with the economy, in contradiction to resolutions and proclamations promising support for the economic and social policy and programs of the party.

## We Search for the Culprit

Before we continue, let us try to determine whether the leading officials and enterprise directors to whom the criticism by the Central Committee, URO and supreme state organs is addressed are--to put it gently--"pressed" into such tactics by something or someone.

We know that for every factory, regardless of which side of the barricade dividing our contemporary world it might be located, it would be most comfortable to produce what it knows best in steady quantities, without rush, and with a smooth influx of needed materials. However, wishes are one thing and the laws of nature quite another. Those who fall behind the competition, who stand still even for a moment, in the words of the poet, stand aside, while the competition crushes them.

Enterprises which still "stand aside" more or less rely on the assurance that if they do not do their share the state will assume responsibility for their failures.

But is this fair to enterprises which are doing their job, is it fair to society to be shortchanged in this manner? Or is it that the failing enterprises and their managers think that the losses they are inflicting on the state will not be noticed in the overall volume of our economy? Every shortcoming, even when not recorded, undermines equilibrium and causes a chain reaction.

Sometimes it is said in defense of those who do disservice to society that leading officials and managers act according to existing conditions and rules of the game.

The term "conditions" may be translated into concrete language by saying that they are delineated by the Set of Measures for the improvement of management in our national economy.

In the preparation of this document there was substantial participation by selected directors of enterprises and economic production units, as well as other captains of industry. Whoever followed their comments and proposals carefully could not have helped but notice that even then--wittingly or otherwise--they tried to make sure that most of the benefits flowed to their organizations, while little was said on behalf of the interests of society, our supreme concern. It is a pity that this phenomenon was not analyzed and assessed for posterity. It taught us that one developmental trend leans toward what leading Soviet economists had warned against, namely that "enterprises, rather than minding the interests of society, are more concerned with all the means at their disposal which have become the criterion of management."

## The Rules of the Game

Let us return to the frequently used term "rules of the game." In discussing additional improvements in the Set of Measures, our economists by and large



reject the term, allowing it merely metaphorical significance. We quote one of these economists: "In the real world of economics there are no games whose rules we can set at will. We are dealing with natural economic processes which must be in harmony with their inherent economic nature and which, with respect to substance, are objectively determined at each developmental stage, and their essential development is changeable only within certain limits."

#### What Determines the Measure of Criticism

The criticized directors and leading officials sometimes complain that the "shots" against them have recently become heavier.

No one criticizes people for shortcomings over which they have no control, such as sharper competition on nonsocialist markets. Increased requirements in the qualification of managers stem from the need of our national economy to make the transition from extensive to intensive development. This qualitative change alters the character of requirements in initiative, creative anticipation, flexibility and correct decisions, willingness to take justifiable risks.

Some of the directors could not cope with these tasks and, consequently, had to be replaced. These were, for example, the enterprise director and three plant directors in Bukoza Vranov, the director of Chirana, plus cadre changes in the Bosany Tanneries and elsewhere.

If we were to summarize the reasons for these departures under one common heading, we would have to say that they had to go because they ignored the interest of society as a whole and lacked statesmanlike approaches.

#### Relationship of Politics and Economics

The logic of the matter would now require a definition of "social interest." Indeed, this may be found in any good book on political economy. For our purposes, we prefer the maxim that full realization of individual and collective interests is not possible without realization of the interests of society as a whole, since this encompasses the basic economic interest of the working people, as well as each worker personally.

It is sometimes argued in informal discussions that this oversimplifies matters, that practical experience is rather more complicated, that different degrees of interest do not always overlap in time and space.

It is true that practice is more complicated, that there are many, even contradictory, influences which threaten conflict. And this is where the directors and leading officials come in.

What decisions will they make? Will they send the energy-hungry locomotive on a trip and thus "avert" threatening conflicts with Benzina and the bank, as well as superiors, or unsheathe the sword in defense of the interests of society?

The first way is more comfortable, the second is essential to society's welfare.

We all should take the second way. Despite calls by the party, however, this is not yet the case. Why?

Soviet economists have unearthed the root of the problem. Of special interest in this matter is a fascinating study by a doctor of economic sciences. Pavel Ignatovskiy, published in KOMUNIST. He focused in his work on the special relationship of politics and economics in a socialist society. The special feature is precisely the interest of society as a whole. The pitfall is that this social interest cannot be realized on its own in the economy--it must have a goal. This goal with respect to the interest of society, or rather its realization, is achieved through politics. Where conflicts might arise between society's and individual or collective interest, they are again resolved politically. Expressed in simple terms, this is what determines the primacy of politics over economics.

In other words, a political stand which reflects the interests of society as a whole represents the specific feature of socialism, and whenever the economic stand suppresses and replaces the political aspect, this specific feature fades.

As a result of the underestimation of politics in economics, society encountered such contradictions with respect to its interests as resortism, unhealthy patriotism, and manipulation of these very interests.

It might be best to close this study with a finding of fundamental importance presented by the Soviet economists: "It would be erroneous to believe that a political approach is essential only in overcoming negative phenomena in the economy. A political approach is an objective, thus permanent, inevitability, since it alone can guarantee the priority of society's interests.

#### Contradiction Between Words and Deeds

The requirement to defend society's interests thus remains a permanent and timely one which applies to every management and decisionmaking process. Since this struggle on behalf of society's interests does not produce results automatically, it must be the responsibility of its prime defender, namely the party. All party documents dealing with the need to improve management emphasize this requirement. The CPCZ Presidium resolution on cadre and personnel work, even in its preamble, places political maturity and political approaches as the top requirement in the qualification of managers.

Recently, problems of correct political positions also came to the fore at the regional and district party committee meetings. A report of the Central Slovak CPSL regional committee stated: "The behavior of certain managers does not reflect the needed changes in approaches in the preparation of plans."

A department chief in the CPSL Central Committee, Comrade Rudolf Netik, noted that "the positions of many leading economic officials...must be considered

irresponsible and apolitical. They trade their political stand for a purely economic one which reduces the endeavor of building socialism to mere trade and practice on behalf of narrow sector or enterprise interests. These people personify the contradiction between their deeds and their words in which they pose as implementers of party policy."

We picked only two quotations, but the number of critical comments on shortcomings in management is growing, as shown by statistics. When the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission investigated this sphere of problems, it found that the blame must be shared by party organizations. They fail to analyze the quality of management in their spheres of jurisdiction in a manner required by today's needs. They often cite shortcomings merely in general terms and when they do criticize a manager, it is usually for non-participation in party activities rather than for infractions with respect to society's interests or for failure to meet the state plan.

### Role of the Party

While political strength is part and parcel of a manager's qualifications, we must educate and lead people in this area, since with the transition from extensive to intensive development in our national economy, all levels of management must acquire a new quality. This need prompted party work to apply and intensify tried methods of education and influence to strengthen innovative economic thinking, at the heart of which must be a desire to achieve the needed final economic result.

For this reason, for example, as stated by CPCZ Central Committee member and leading secretary of the Central Slovak CPSL regional committee, Comrade Vladimir Pirosik, "party organs and organizations in the region devote special attention to improving the role of management."

The district CPSL party committee in Presov holds consultative meetings every 2 months with sector directors. They analyze the source of problems and ways of resolving them. Directors of enterprises and plants which have not met their responsibilities are required to appear at these meetings and explain what measures they have adopted to improve the situation.

In southern Moravia they have had excellent experiences with the establishment of directors' councils as part of the district party committees. This is emulating Soviet experiences and the role of the councils is to assist actively and creatively in the realization of the economic and social policy of the party. The councils do not deal with details and narrow operational concerns; rather, they handle problems of a fundamental character, such as, for example, social productivity of labor, wages, market achievements, etc. Blansko, which was the first to establish a directors' council, has already moved ahead of the districts of Gottwaldov, Jihlava, Trebic and Zdar nad Sazavou.

There are many methods which lead to better political positions among managers. One principle, however, is universally valid: this effort must be long-term, conceptual and must emphasize understanding of the importance and forms of the relationship between politics and economics under socialist conditions.

The eminent Soviet economist Ignatovskiy expressed this by saying that we must strengthen the principles of awareness in the economy and raise the role of politics and policies which genuinely defend the socialist methods of management.

We have the right, in the name of all our people, to demand this because, despite many difficulties and detours, our whole effort in the economy is aimed at raising the living standard of our people. Such is the political and social goal of our plans.

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MARXISM SEEN AS FAILING TO ANSWER HUMAN CONDITION

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 12, Dec 83 pp 12-13

[Interview with Robert Falus, by Laszlo Robert: "An Interrupted Dialogue"]

[Text] In July 1983, having coordinated our vacations, my friend Robert Falus and I were admitted to the Sopron State Sanatorium. We organized this joint stay to hold talks we had long planned. I took a tape recorder along just in case our exchange of views raised some ideas that might be of interest to others as well. The dialogue presented below is the abridged text of our discussions on July 20th and 28th.

Our discussions ended on a joking note and, with a tragic twist of fate, the joke became harsh reality 4 days later: we indeed could continue our intellectual wrestling only in the next world. On 1 August 1983, Robert Falus died suddenly in the Sopron State Sanatorium. But the problems raised in our friendly debate are very much alive, and the thoughts of this outstanding Communist scientist might be of help to us in solving these problems.

Laszlo Robert: Two months ago, after a lecture at a plant in Pecs, the librarian asked me whether I was familiar with Heidegger. Not very, I replied. She then handed me Bela Suki's book, "Martin Heidegger filozofiajanak alapkerdesei" (The Fundamental Questions of Martin Heidegger's Philosophy). Scanning through it one sleepless night, I discovered to my surprise that Heidegger had formulated also ideas that could make our lives more active. He contends that actually there is no past or future, only the present. Therefore man is a being that is truly real and effective always at the present moment. The potential nature of man's essence stems from the objective condition that his next, not yet real, moment is not necessarily determined by the already real moment; man is always free to choose the reality of this moment as a possibility that is not determined by anything. I think that here Heidegger recognized something that could have been of great help to us had also Marx or Lenin recognized it: we could have used these ideas to our advantage in the process through which theory penetrates the masses.

## Can a Marxist Be a Pessimist?

Robert Falus: I do not think that the future is so indeterminate. Incidentally, you could have had a similar experience had you come across the thoughts of not Heidegger but of, say, Walter Benjamin, in the collection of his essays. The selection of the essays is excellent, but their translation is bad, regrettably. Benjamin, too, belongs among the cultural philosophers and continues the school of cultural pessimism. In terms of their profoundness, his thoughts are similar to those of Heidegger. But by the same token I could mention also Adorno or several prominent members of the Mannheim or Frankfurt school who represent pessimism, the 20th century bourgeoisie's most typical trend.

L. R.: A Marxist cannot be a pessimist?

R. F.: No.

L. R.: No? Why not?

R. F.: Because--allow me to word my answer in the most primitive form and very subjectively, in my own naive, dogmatic and sectarian manner that belongs in the museum--to be a Marxist means that I consciously believe and am also emotionally confident that the world can be changed, that mankind has a future, and that it will be we--in spite of our many shortcomings, mistakes and stupidities--who will save mankind for the future, and the future for mankind.

L. R.: By "we," do you mean Marxists?

R. F.: Those who in my opinion are Marxists. But let us return to the question of whether Marxism has to be supplemented by an anthropology of the type that also Heidegger formulated. "Marxismus es antropologia" (Marxism and Anthropology) by Gyorgy Markus, published about 15 years ago, is a significant work specifically because it highlights those areas of the human sciences, or of anthropology, which--as you yourself have justifiably noted--Marx, Engels, Lenin and the other great thinkers of Marxism did not have enough time and energy to develop. What has troubled and is troubling us here is the sketchiness of individual psychology. But today--thanks to the course of world history and thanks to ourselves--we already are beginning to critically integrate into the Marxist world outlook some of the sciences and methods that were uncritically rejected and branded during the years of dogmatism. We no longer regard as the work of the devil, for example, the writings of such psychologists as Freud, Piaget or Jung, and their exposition of how the individual functions mentally; rather we attempt to interpret them in a way that can be useful for the dialectic materialistic world outlook. But I would have strong doubts about elevating Heidegger as an exceptionally great personality above the others, or about the feasibility of harmonizing Marxism and Heidegger's world outlook. I do not believe that there is a logically connected and coherent world outlook that could unify Marxism- Leninism and Heideggerism.

L. R.: But if one finds a train of thought or even a single sentence such as Heidegger's concept of past, present and future, and if it confirms what the person in question has felt intuitively and has wished for, then it is simply convenient for him to be able to reason further and perhaps arrive at

conclusions that are contrary to the basic pessimism of Heidegger's ontology. Incidentally, when a person uses the expression "world outlook," I believe it is always possible that he might become conceited, even if he concedes that another person has a world outlook. History has never yet known a philosopher, no matter how ingenious, who had a complete world outlook, one that covered everything. And this applies not only to Heidegger but, I dare say, to Karl Marx as well. It is an entirely different question that everyone has a subjective world outlook: Aunt Mary has one and so did Marx. Marx's world outlook is less subjective because he was a genius, an economist, philosopher, historian, and so on. However, and I repeat, not even he could have an objective world outlook that covered everything. But the question here is what do you mean when you say Marxism. Do you mean Karl Marx's one-time personal world outlook, or Marxism that exists today as a trend?

When Does Marxism Cease to Be Marxism?

R. F.: By world outlook I mean the image formed of the world; or, to put it differently, ideology. And by Marxism I mean the Marxist method. Its two essential elements--excuse me, I am not explaining this to you but am merely soliloquizing--are dialectics and materialism. If either one is lacking, it is no longer Marxism.

Regarding anthropology, this means that it is both history and sociology. In my opinion, and also in the opinion of greater minds than mine, here the essence of the Marxian or Marxist method is that we perceive man as a member of society; he may be an active or passive member, but in any event he is a member of society. Any philosophy, anthropology, ethics, esthetics, etc. that divorces individual psychology from social objectivity and the determinacy of social existence, from the inherited past and the future to be shaped, is foreign to my way of thinking, speculative and exasperating. It is so even though I have to admit--and by now I am old enough to admit willingly--that in the development of the individual's psyche there are elements that cannot be explained simply with historical materialism. In conjunction with Marx's doctrines --and here I have the original ones in mind--it was devastating for me to read that man is nothing other than "the sum total of his social relations," which Marx himself probably intended only as a witticism. The wording--unfortunate, in my opinion--of this one sentence, intended merely as a witticism, has been the cause of much confusion. Many a 20th century philosopher judges Marx on the basis of this definition considered as vulgar, and which is a simplification also in my opinion, although it is perhaps a sin to speak so of a Marxian sentence. This happened also with Sartre, among others. He admits that Marx was a good economist and a good historian, but considers it a mechanical simplification to perceive man as the sum total of his social relations.

L. R.: There is a letter from Heidegger to the effect that although his philosophy basically differs from Marx's, a comparison of the two could be fruitful. Heidegger writes: "By recognizing alienation, Marx penetrated an essential dimension of history, and therefore the Marxist conception of history surpasses all other conceptions of history."

On the other hand, however, also several prominent Soviet philosophers--meaning the ones who are investigating profoundly and realistically the crisis of

bourgeois philosophy--contend that not only must we simply utilize existentialism's alienation analyses, but must also realize that we have not devoted sufficient attention to ontology and anthropology, and that there is no philosophical trend other than present-day Marxism that has investigated Western society's contradictions more thoroughly than existentialism has.

And if this is so, then we may accept as true the partial findings of either Heidegger or other existentialists, and these partial findings can help us to establish more effectively an optimistic revolutionary activity, in contrast with Heidegger's pessimism.

R. F.: If we cast anchor at your latest sentences, then I am saddened because there is no debate between us. It is obvious that acceptance of certain partial truths from certain significant bourgeois philosophers can help us to rid ourselves of dogmatism. But this does not mean that the lifeworks of Marx and Heidegger are of equal value.

L. R.: Naturally.

R. F.: Then all I can object to is that you fail to mention numerous other disciplines within the human sciences. Take Piaget, the French classic of child psychology. And take also Freud whose works even psychologists with the most pronounced materialistic world outlook cannot disregard--today they would no longer want to, thank heaven--but want to utilize.

L. R.: But this has not yet made Freud a Marxist, has it?

R. F.: No, it has not. But neither do the Marxists abandon their world outlook and ideology and become Freudians when, for example, they become convinced by experience that suppressed emotions erupt in dreams, or that dreams can be traced back to the reality of wakefulness. In other words, they may use certain elements of Freudian theory as tools, without accepting Freud's conception of soul and body. The acceptance of important partial truths of the bourgeois theories--ideologically placed in a critical perspective--is a basic principle that not even an "old-fashioned believer" like I would want to dispute. But the Marxian method cannot be reconciled with irrational, mystical and idealistic ideologies--with the ideologies themselves, and not with the partial truths they reveal. For this method is the materialistic interpretation of not a total volume of letters or texts called Marxist, but of history, of man, of the past, present and future.

L. R.: Is there a difference between the text and the mode of interpretation?

R. F.: There is. To mark the centennial of Marx's death, at the university I recently read a lecture entitled "Marx's Legacy and Classical Philology." Also here I strived to explain that when Marx discussed questions of ancient history or literature, he was referring to the state of classical studies in his time, and therefore a very large part of his findings--and those of Engels as well--have become outdated. For example, his theory of matriarchy, the narrowing of the tragic in his analyses of plays, his conception of Aristotelian esthetics, etc. Thus when I say Marxism, it means the Marxian method, the materialistic and dialectic method, and nothing else.



L. R.: So as not to sadden you with the tedium of agreement, let us turn to the question of believing in God. Leaving aside our policy of alliance, and the ever-greater historical necessity that brings believers into the movements for social progress, I think it will be worth while to examine how we regard this question today. About 6 years ago, I went to Barcelona to attend a pro-Soviet membership meeting of the Catalan Communist Party. There an active Jesuit priest, who was also a member of the party's executive committee, told us on film: "I feel a better Christian since I became a Communist."

Here I do not wish to be bogged down in the partial problems of "agnostic belief in God," on which there is a whole library of literature ranging from modern Catholic theology to Calvinist theology, but I do have to mention the present state of the myth of Christ. It seems to me that this myth can enrich also the revolutionary world outlook. When modern theology treats Christ basically as a man, his person becomes a symbol of mankind's liberation and of the individual's self-fulfillment. Christianity's image of Christ is that of a sexual individual, of a personality who embodies--in the Marxian and Lukacsian sense--mankind's sexual essence. Hence Christ's great appeal, and not only to the bigoted masses.

And we may look also farther. Anyone even slightly knowledgeable in this field knows that Tibetan, Chinese and Indian yoga--both as a philosophy and a cultural history--contains an even broader collection of parables than the Bible. And by elaborating the principles of effective individual action, without which there cannot be any prudent and effective social action, also yoga might seem suitable to supplement and aid present-day social action based on Marxist principles. The more so because, among the philosophies that are founded on religious principles, Buddhism or the yoga teachings are the closest to materialism.

R. F.: I readily concede what our historical experience proves: that to this day Marxism as a world outlook does not objectively offer completeness, neither ethically nor in other respects, and hence it is not a total world outlook. Experience likewise proves that Marxism's partial truths satisfy only partially man's moral and spiritual needs that serve his self-understanding, choice of action, pursuit of happiness, etc. My only concern is that perhaps not even you have a sufficiently authoritative knowledge of yoga, or of other doctrines from the history of religion, to enable you to accurately define their suitable gap-filling role. I myself am even less qualified than you are. I only know that to be a Marxist obviously means to be a materialist. I cannot imagine a Marxism founded on idealism. Are we in agreement on this?

L. R.: I do not know as yet.

R. F.: But, may I ask, when will you know?

L. R.: Perhaps I will know more also about this by the end of our present discussion.

R. F.: Then on my own behalf, risking even the suspicion of dilettantism, I wish to state for the record that a Marxist professing principles of idealist philosophy is no better than a first-class funeral. And no matter what an

absolutely honest, politically important, and in every other respect commendable Jesuit priest might say, my personal opinion is that we would be violating the soul of Marxism if we attempt to enrich it with eclectic philosophy.

#### Alliance and Debate

L. R.: It is of course questionable whether Marxism, considered from the materialistic viewpoint, has a soul at all. And this question is valid even if you used this expression merely for the sake of a pun. I myself am more interested in the question of who can do more for the formation of socialist society, and by what philosophical methods and course of action. To me as a historical materialist, a Graham Greene who in a certain sense is a mystic believer and actually a pessimist to boot--I know him personally and am familiar with his way of thinking--can be very important as a writer and active politician if I assess his activity in terms of undermining and overthrowing modern imperialism. When he writes about what is happening in Nicaragua and what should be done there, it becomes entirely of secondary importance to me how he relates to dialectical or even historical materialism. And if we see, as we have seen, that Marxism fails to answer an entire series of questions, then I say that we must win this type of person for our strategic ally, and this relationship could even become a sort of "philosophical alliance."

If we compare the operational radius of the Andalusian organization known as Christians for Socialism, with the operational radii of a good many left-wing organizations that are absolutely "orthodox" atheists, we come to conclusions that are formidable for you, and for me as well. It is true that they are inspired by the Gospel to fight against the large landowners, for irrigating the peasants land, and for a cleaner world, while we would be doing the same for considerations of dialectical and historical materialism. But the decisive is that there emerge a social force based on ideological principles such that it will be capable of effective social action for socialism's realization. This is the most important, and any kind of materialism becomes secondary by comparison.

R. F.: There is no difference of opinion between us in that the perfection of socialism and its victory require us to find allies, regardless of philosophy or world outlook, among all those whose ideals of sociopolitical transformation are identical, or at least parallel, with ours. But what do you mean by your statement, probably pointed against me, that this relationship could even become a sort of "philosophical alliance"? What is a "philosophical alliance" and how can it develop?

L. R.: The words stuck slightly in my throat when I made that statement, but now I am glad I did. After all, nothing ventured, nothing gained, and this is true also intellectually. I will begin by saying that about 10 to 15 years ago, parallel with the diminishing authority of the official church institutions, a new type of religiousness has begun to make gains worldwide. The reason for this, I believe, is twofold. First, fear of the technological revolution's negative consequences, fear of nuclear war as a human miracle that will be the death of the individual as well. Secondly, not even Marxism has been able to offer full-fledged ideals to the younger generations thirsting for some kind of ideals. This is why I find necessary not a compromise, but a fraternal

debate between believers and atheists. A fraternal and trustful debate in the interest of fraternal collaboration, a debate in which nobody is forced to abandon his faith, one in which the agnostic Communist and the Communist adhering to the principles of the Gospel would be equal.

R. F.: You are confusing me by attempting, occasionally with very prudent passion, to reduce to a common denominator your trinity of political joint action, philosophical alliance, and philosophical debate. A while ago I asked you about "philosophical debate" which now has become fraternal debate. The two are not mutually exclusive, but neither are they identical. I admit that, from the viewpoint of political action, it is practically all the same whether one does or does not believe in the Immaculate Conception. But what does it mean that a new philosophical alliance must be formed--in the interest of either policy of philosophical strategy--among people of the most diverse world outlooks? Of what ideological elements would this alliance be built?

L. R.: I would hardly be able to itemize them now. But once I visited the Communist partisans in Laos at a time when the Buddhist monks, the bonzes, were seeking shelter from the American air raids in caves. There they were teaching children the alphabet and growing the 200 manioc roots per hectare, in accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee. In one of the caves I encountered a bonze who laughingly patted me on the shoulder and said: "You Marxists are probably studying only your own ideology and are not aware that we Buddhists, too, are materialists so far as the creation of the world is concerned, except that we happen to believe in Nirvana after death. But even if our views differ regarding the phase after life, my friend, we can march together until Nirvana, can we not?" Well, I answered him in the affirmative, and I think this is what we have to do also in the philosophical sense. But I, thank God, have become a doubter in the Marxian "dubito, ergo sum" sense, and that is what I want to remain, even if there is some kind of next world. I am just saying this to challenge you. For I am convinced the Bermudo, the Jesuit from Seville who, by his own admission, accepts historical materialism but rejects dialectical materialism, and you who are also a dialectical materialist, could form an alliance that would advance not only social action, but philosophical thinking as well.

R. F.: I think I will send you the answer to this from the next world.

L. R.: We will continue our discussion there, too, will we not?

R. F.: That is all I need in the next world.

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# POLITICAL REFORM SUPPORTED WITHIN EXISTING POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 2, 1984 pp 25-30

[Article by Professor Peter Schmidt, department head, Lorand Eotvos University: "Directions of the Hungarian Political System's Development"]

[Text] I. A central issue with which our society has been concerned for years is the interpretation of socialist democracy and the directions of its development. When an institution of the political system was created or one of its regulations introduced, it could have been very progressive, but later that same institution might become an obstacle to further development. In our time, in my opinion, the political structure in general and the functioning of institutions must be enriched and developed further in terms of their content and methods, so as to better adapt to the changed social structure. Our political structure was built at a time when antagonistic class contradictions existed. The political contradictions that existed between the advocates of the socialist and the capitalist paths of development often gave preference to the centralization of the exercise of political power and to its administrative instruments, even when differences of opinion might have arisen regarding the treatment of opponents and the feasibility of forming a political alliance.

In 1956, the political forces were split specifically on this issue. The party was waging a struggle on two fronts. On the one hand, it rejected the earlier concept of treating political opponents and allies. But, on the other hand, it rejected also the political conceptions that went as far as surrendering socialism's basic institutions. The MSZMP modified the political structure and broadened democracy specifically on these principles.

The issue today is more and something else. Once the foundations of socialism were in place, our society and its political aspect became more unified. In the 1960's, for example, the Hungarian peasantry accepted the socialist transformation of agriculture and has fulfilled its expectations. But this does not mean that the cooperative peasantry has no separate interests from those of the working class and other strata. When the cooperative peasantry formulates its views on industrial and agricultural prices, it criticizes the price system's drawbacks. And when it wants to increase the agricultural cooperatives' independence of the public administration organs, then this truly presents conflicts of interest and differences of opinion.

However, the conflict of interest and difference of opinion can no longer be treated as the dilemma of capitalism or socialism. This conflict of interest

and difference of opinion arise under socialism; they must be allowed expression; and we must know how to integrate them. Such conflicts of interest and differences of opinion can arise in numerous spheres of social coexistence.

II. In the Hungarian political system's development, the trends that we have outlined often appear interwoven and reinforcing one another. Abandoning the mistakes of the past, the MSZMP introduced significant changes in the political structure, particularly in the decision-making mechanism, in providing organizational and legal guaranties, and in making social developments more independent. These changes may be characterized as follows:

1. In arriving at decisions, the Hungarian political system is more sensitive to society's opinion and response. Before adopting decisions, the leadership strives increasingly to gain information about society's foreseeable response, and it organizes more often debates on individual issues. After a decision is adopted, the leadership responds more keenly to the emerging public opinion. And it strives to avoid decisions that do not express the interests of a significant proportion of the workers.
2. After 1956, guaranties were built into the political system, especially into state organization, and institutions were created that can prevent misuse of power, ensure the citizens' sense of security, and strengthen their influence on the exercise of power.

First came stronger guaranties of human rights, thanks to the lessons of the show trials during the period of personality cult. The separation of the police force and its privileged position within state organization were abolished; its operation was defined by statutory regulations; the requirements for taking a suspect in custody were tightened; and in general the legality of the police force's activity increased.

Statutory regulation of public administration provided wider room for the assertion of democracy. Today public administration may resort to force only when statutory regulations authorize it to do so. These principles were first formulated in the Law on Public Administration (enacted in 1957).

Development of the system of organizational and legal guaranties that ensure democratic operation has accelerated particularly in our time. Interpretation of the nature of self-government formulated in the Law on Councils (1971), the question of decentralizing authority, implementation of the councils' financial independence, and in general the curtailment of centralization have been topics of debate for the past 10 years. Public opinion is pressing for giving the representative organs more authority, for the establishment of guaranties truly able to ensure the assertion of the principle, never denied in theory, that the leading role of the representative organs in state activity must be secured. The constitutional amendment enacted in 1972 produced several regulations that want to ensure this through wider authority. For example, a new provision of the constitution states that civil rights may be regulated only by law, i.e., by the National Assembly.

This series of guaranties has been broadened by the new Electoral Law that was submitted for public debate in the autumn of 1983 and has been enacted since

then. This law makes it mandatory to run two or more candidates in every election district. The national list of candidates for deputies-at-large is intended to broaden the guaranties of alternatives in the National Assembly.

The constitutional amendment of 1983 wants to increase the guaranties of democratic operation by ordering the establishment of a council on constitutional law as a committee of the National Assembly. Its main function is to oversee that legislation conforms to the constitution. Thus the appropriate organs with conflicting interests are able to appeal against legislation introduced by administrative organs, and the dispute is decided before an independent council. We could go on listing examples of increased guaranties to ensure democratic operation.

III. These processes and changes are not free of contradictions. Whenever the question of legal and organizational guaranties was placed on the agenda, especially during the past decade, there always ensued a debate on whether these guaranties are truly viable in our society, or do they remain mere forms, measures merely for the sake of appearance, underneath which meaningful change is unable to emerge.

For example, whenever the issue of the councils' independence, self-government and decentralization of decision-making is raised, a debate begins on whose decision-making authority has to be strengthened. Is not the measure excessively administrative and technocratic, without any expansion of local democracy? Without the democratization of local public life, decentralization could create "petty monarchs," because it reduces the central government's influence without substituting other types of guaranties.

In the wide debate on running two or more candidates in every election district, many speakers objected that this made sense only if the candidates were able to represent different standpoints. If each candidate merely says that he accepts the program of the PPF, this does not give the constituents much of an alternative. Or very many people pointed out that it was meaningless to speak of the mode of election, without broadening the authority of the representative organs. It is no coincidence that the Central Committee, in its standpoint on the principles of the new Electoral Law, noted its intention to discuss the role of the representative organs.

In the debate on the Electoral Law it was proposed that the national list of candidates for deputies-at-large should also serve to strengthen the interest-representing function of public organizations.

The Constitutional Law Committee will be able to fulfill its role only if the organs authorized to present motions intend to exercise this right. The legal and organizational forms remain empty without real development of interests and views. The legal and organizational forms are able to provide guaranties, but they are unable to generate the development of society's interests. Only the practice of society's life can ensure such development. Underlying the debates is also the view that political practice today is not yet able to optimally operate these forms that are by no means negligible.

IV. After 1956, socialist democracy was developed by establishing the independence and autonomy of certain institutions in relation to the central political and state leadership. Within society there emerged certain formations undergoing self-motion, formations that central management wanted to influence only indirectly, through political instruments. Primarily the extent of administrative supervision declined.

Such autonomy can be found in certain spheres of private life. The political leadership drew the dividing line between the "communal" and "private" spheres elsewhere and differently than earlier. In the early 1950's, attempts were made to practically abolish the "private" individual; the individual's autonomy ceased, at least in principle; and family life, for example, became public concern, in a distorted manner. After 1956, this private life gained autonomy from the community. Which means that the "community" does want to influence the individual's world outlook and his views on communal and political life, but it does not want to crush and blend him. It gives the individual opportunity to form his own opinion and value judgment.

The various branches of culture and the arts became areas operating with similar independence. These collectives--under the political leadership's influence, among other things--may function with their own peculiar instruments. The hallmarks of these changes included the debates and value judgments on socialist realism.

Regarding the sciences, the political leadership recognizes that they are developing according to their own laws. Especially significant from this point of view is the social sciences' independence of the political leadership. The debates that evolved on the hegemony of Marxism, on the Marxist and non-Marxist standpoints and their interpretation, are the milestones of the measures in this area. In this way the social sciences, the arts and culture have been able to become--among other things--the vehicles of social and political alternatives, and occasionally expressions of political contradictions.

The debates on the system of economic management opened up a wide circle of independence and autonomies. This is an area whose extensions completely encompass the economy, money relations and social changes, and therefore it covers practically all of sociopolitical life. These debates, too, began in late 1956, but by the mid-1960's they were included in the political leadership's program as well. This is reflected in the greater role of commodity and money relations.

Specifically because they have a bearing on society's leadership, the debates on the system of economic management have not subsided in our time. They are keeping on the agenda such questions as the state's role in social production activity, and the relationship between party decisions and the economic units' independence.

The question of on whose behalf must decision-making authority be decentralized has arisen also in these debates. Who should exercise enterprise independence and the right to make decisions, the enterprise's management or how much of a role should be assigned to the enterprise's collective? How will the enterprise's trade-union organs function, and how will their role of safeguarding

the workers' interests develop? And what will be the function of the enterprise's party organs in relation to all this?

V. The recognition and creation of independent social developments did not occur without contradictions. The question that arose was not only who should be given wider decision-making authority, but also how society can manage the resulting developments. The institutions and areas that have a specified autonomy cannot be handled and controlled with the old instruments and methods of management. The private sector's growth in the area of services, for example, cannot be controlled by means of economic planning in the old sense. Autonomies produce social developments that follow their own laws, and these developments cannot be influenced by means of the old instruments. And if we nonetheless attempt to influence them in this manner, we thereby destroy their very essence.

However, all this does not mean setting in motion social developments over which society loses its influence, its ability to guide them. This applies to every independent sphere of development: the economy, culture, science, and even private life. Naturally, curtailment of management of the administrative type cannot mean the abandonment of central guidance. Were this to happen, the signs of anarchy would increase within society. On the basis of this real danger, some come to the conclusion that the old "order" must be restored, ending thereby room for independent social development. But this would be a negation of the progress already made, a setback for democracy.

There have been significant changes in our political structure in recent decades. One of the most important changes has been the realization that it is a one-sided and actually wrong approach to the public organs to stress their transmitting role between central management and the parts, the people. The trade unions' role of representing their members' interests has been formulated especially in the debate on economic management. Very important in this respect have been the recurring consultations between the SZOT [Central Council of Trade Unions] and the government, at which attention was focused on the function of reconciling interests. The communique issued in December 1983 reflects, although it does not spell out, the interest-representing nature of the consultations. Changes affecting the organizational structure are the establishment of cooperative-farm councils and, most recently, formulation of the function of the Chamber of Commerce in representing the interests of the enterprises.

In spite of the changes in the right direction, our political structure is not yet able to adequately manage and integrate the aforementioned social processes. The changes that have taken place in the political structure (the party, trade unions, KISZ, PPF, women's movement, and associations) are not yet adequate. The political system's stability is unquestionably in society's interest. What is debated is the extent to which special interests and different opinions may be voiced under the present stability and unity. There are some who limit this opportunity very closely, while others absolutize it and regard it as practically unlimited.

This is why there are debates on the trade unions' interest-representing role and its interpretation. Views are being exchanged on the role of the KISZ,



especially among youths and university students in particular. Some defend the present structure, while others urge the formation of stratum organizations. A segment of the university students--especially those majoring in the social sciences--want to separate from the KISZ the representation of the interests of all students.

Under these conditions the PPF is seeking for itself a more active role within the political system. Today it believes to have found opportunity for greater activity primarily in shaping local public life.

There are debates also on interpreting the party's leading role. Especially in conjunction with economic management, the wish has been expressed of defining also the party's "authority" so as to ensure the economy's autonomous development; in other words, it is being proposed to apply also to society's leadership the set of instruments of autonomy in relation to the state. This, in my opinion, is not a well-founded effort. It is obvious that guaranteeing the economy its own laws of development affects also the role of the social mechanism (including, among other things, also the party's role), but it is very doubtful that the same instruments can be employed in this areas as in case of the state. Admittedly, the party's economic-policy decisions often are more of an administrative nature in terms of their content and form, and there is less of a social and political approach in them. But from this it does not follow that the solution is a restriction of authority similar to the restriction on the state (this would not be feasible in the party's case); rather the nature of the approach must be changed.

Even though we are unable to follow all these debates, it is obvious that also the public organs' place within the political system is being debated. These debates do not much affect the political structures form, but certain substantive changes are perceptible.

This is how our political system has reached its present state (with all its contradictions): numerous guaranties have evolved for society's democratic leadership and operation, but in practice these guaranties occasionally are not yet sufficiently meaningful because actual social development underlying them is lacking. We have strengthened organizational independence and autonomy in many areas within the political system, and this has reduced the centralization of society's management. Social developments based on independent interests have evolved, but as yet we do not know how to adequately manage and integrate their social impact. In this way a situation has arisen where there actually are unsound anarchic endeavors within society. Changes cannot be introduced in the area of organizational guaranties without subsequent modifications in society's system of organizations and its operation.

As a result, the debates and differences of opinion that arise within society often remain outside the system of political organizations that would make them public. Thus a growing contradiction has arisen between so-called informal debates outside any organizational structure, and the often formalized actions of public organizations. Literature, the arts, and the social sciences often have become public areas of contrasting views, together with the distorting, subjective effects of all this.

Hence follows also the solution, in my opinion. The independent developments that ensure society's direct action must be encouraged in the various areas of life, but in such a way that we simultaneously make our political organizations capable of managing these developments better and integrating them more effectively. The organizational and legal guaranties of the democracy existing within society frequently are perfunctory. However, this perfunctoriness must be terminated not by liquidating the guaranties, but by making them meaningful by strengthening society's political development, and by making the public organs more suitable for accepting and democratically integrating the conflicts of interest and differences of opinion.

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PZPR ACTIVISTS EVALUATED, PRAISED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 26, 21 Dec 83 pp 5-6

/Article by Witold Glowacki: "Social and Permanent Aktiv in Party Life"

/Text/ The PZPR aktiv plays an important role in its activities. It is recruited from among those members most keenly committed politically and socially as well as organizationally experienced. Considerably greater responsibilities rest on activists than on other party members. All statutory requirements relating to activists entail greater force and importance.

Activists perform selected functions in the party administration and the administration of social, self-governing, union, youth, and socioprofessional organizations, as well as in other sectors of public life. They belong to boards and groups of party problem committees, and perform the duties of lector and instructor in the system of party schooling. They play a key role, especially in activities of the basic party organization /POP/ as well as lower-echelon party committees which maintain the broadest contact with the working class in all communities.

Selection of an Aktiv

Aktiv groups should strive for numerical plurality with the majority consisting of party members who do not hold managerial posts in sectors of the national or economic administration. It is important not to create so-called institutional aktiv groups. After all, not every party member in a managerial post possesses the gift and expertise for social work. In administration, the methods of work and management are different than in the party. They are useless and often outright contraindicated in political work. The directive-type style--sound and necessary in official relations in administration--does not adapt to party work, it represents its contradiction. This style when transferred to the party consequently leads to bureaucracy and a weakening of mass activity.

Party activists are first of all those who actively participate in the preparation of party decisions and engage in their implementation.

They should decide on including the following the aktiv: genuine commitment, expertise in political work, community respect, but holding no post in the hierarchy of state or economic administration or other institutions.

Situations in which the party aktiv, especially while performing a selected function, identifies itself with managing administrative bodies constitute a serious danger to the party because they create the threat of converting it into "an addition to the administration."

Inclinations of party committees and their executive bodies as well as the full time party aktiv to act as a substitute for the national or economic administration cannot be tolerated in party work. The committees are responsible for the creation of conditions under which these sectors can function independently. The committees should inspire and control them without excessive interference, evaluate the cadre in charge of managing individual segments of national and economic life regarding its implementation of party decisions and their social consequences.

On the other hand, the party, its aktiv, organizations and committees cannot be treated by managing administrative bodies as entities that exclusively support their plans, their projects and decisions as well as their methods of managing and administration. Some directors of national institutions, administrative or other public services, being party members, are of the opinion that in every situation they automatically represent the party posture and the party political line to some extent. They submit themselves reluctantly to party control associated with party membership. They do not display sufficient discipline in the implementation of party resolutions and their own POP. Having been convinced of their "infallibility," they do not appreciate the inspirational function of the party, its committees, organizations and aktiv.

The body of party officials, as well as the aktiv surrounding it, should be adequately representative of the social structure of a given party organization--basic, gmina, city, provincial. This allows for the attainment of a rather complete picture of the situation, taking into consideration public feelings, opinions and the interests of all classes of society. Consequently, persons representing all communities should be found in the body of party officials and the aktiv surrounding it. In the selection of an aktiv, it is necessary to turn attention to its political standards, organizational expertise so indispensable in political work, sociopolitical knowledge as well as expert knowledge (not formal qualifications), adeptness in collective work and in listening intently to the voices of the working class, as well as the talent to generalize them and draw proper conclusions, enthusiasm for social work, impartiality, high personal respect among party and non-party members, sensitivity to social evils and injustice.

An elementary and most efficient way to form an aktiv consists in the assignment of more and more difficult and more complex party assignments to PZPR members as well as actual control over their execution. This method permits the unearthing of the most active, most ideological and politically mature as well as organizationally talented comrades. It is the best and in effect a tested method for the development as well as selection of and changes in aktivs. For practice is the best verification of human qualifications, attitudes and postures.

It is the duty of party officials in all echelons to listen attentively to opinions, observations and appraisals of the aktiv concerning their work, above all providing information about the attitudes of the working class, questions and proposals placed on the agenda. It is necessary to provide the aktiv with vital information regarding chiefly the more important sociopolitical and economic national and regional questions, as well as matters and problems of the internal life of the party. It is likewise necessary to provide additional permanent and systematic training for the aktiv, improve its ideological-political and organizational qualifications by including it in various forms of party training as well as private work.

#### Full-Time Employees

Permanent political party workers are an integral part of the aktiv representing its so-called apparatus. Their place and role in party life are outlined in point 45 of the PZPR Statute.

Political party workers are individuals who are appointed by committees and their executive bodies, as well as secretaries elected at conferences and congresses, and also members of party control bodies employed at full-time positions financed from the party budget. During periods of extreme social tension, they are the object of attacks by political adversaries, often calculated to separate them from the mass membership, to embroil them with the entire party aktiv for the purpose of weakening and throwing the party into disarray.

The isolation of party apparatus workers from the party aktiv and their treatment as an independent political force is sometimes also encountered in publications in the columns of some social periodicals. The authors of these publications are inclined to charge the party apparatus--comprising for upwards of 25 years now more or less merely 0.4-0.5 percent of party members and candidates at large--with the responsibility for every deficiency possible in its pursuits. Breaking up the party aktiv into permanent and temporary employees is artificial. Methodologically it is unsound. Substantively it is groundless. It arouses the distrust of party members towards several thousands of activists elected democratically at conferences and congresses for party work, whose proper performance requires temporary interruptions in their present professional employment, as well as towards

several thousands of activists provisionally appointed by committees for permanent work in party echelons. It does not help in the integration of party organizational endeavors so indispensable in the performance of its leading role.

Political employees act on behalf of committees and their executive boards, upon obtaining official authorization from them. They do not communicate their own views to party organizations, but rather the resolutions and position of committees which, in keeping with the principles of democratic centralization of POP's they are obligated to implement.

Political employees perform an official role in relation to party committees. This role depends on an accurate expression of the interests of party and non-party members from all groups and classes of society, and above all the working class, on permanent concern for the protection of the interests of the working class, on the manifestation of inconsistencies which occur in the process of socialist development and on pointing out methods for overcoming them.

It is the responsibility of the apparatus to:

- assure party committees and their agencies authorized by statute as well as party organizations of conditions vital to objective planning of activities;

- expand in broad cooperation with the party active organizational control work on the implementation of decisions and resolutions of party officials;

- conduct ideological-educational work in the party and among non-party members;

- generalize and disseminate tested experiences in party work;

- prepare materials for party echelon needs concerning the implementation of party resolutions in the sphere of policy and appraisal of supervisory cadres.

The main method of party apparatus operations is sociopolitical inspiration, conviction and unification by personal example for consistent, disciplined implementation of party policy.

Hence, there is a place in party echelons for a political worker with broad intellectual perception, possessing the art of combining general social interests with local needs, a prime mover, comprehending party and national policy, as well as engaging in its implementation, capable of implementing the decisions of party management and the government for the benefit of citizens, displaying an example of satisfactory demeanor in work and personal life.

## Selection Criteria

A permanent political employee must be an individual who is capable of comparing personal experiences with those of the surrounding world. It is not sufficient for an employee of the apparatus to maintain contact with the sphere of his activities by employing knowledge acquired in studies; he must keep in step with the times, have access to sources of information, as well as prepare his own means of achieving self-perfection, capable of maintaining broad contact with the practices of social life, and in particular with the working class, the working people.

It is a requirement for the party apparatus employee to exercise skill not only in understanding contemporary sociopolitical and socioeconomic problems, but likewise in serving as a means of their transmission. It must be solidly embedded in the consciousness of the party apparatus workers that "the salt of the earth is not he who acquires things, but he who creates them."

Permanent political employees draft party echelon decisions and together with them bear responsibility for their contents, form, as well as social and political consequences. These employees must be constantly aware that the working class evaluates the party not only on the basis of endeavors by the central officials of the PZPR, but also its weakest sectors and prominent splinter groups, which are always neglected at the right moment by certain local elements of the party.

It is urgent that, in addition to raising political and professional qualifications, the party apparatus employee should be noted for psychological resistance, obstinacy and opposition to adversity. He should be critical of the phenomena of political, social and economic life, of people supervising him, and at the same time should have great patience, composure and skill in providing a ready ear to critical remarks in relations to his own work and attitude as well as to the work of the party echelon represented by him.

The attitudes of permanent party workers cannot be dominated by defensive reaction to criticism, nor by the method of justifying the lack of satisfactory performance by party echelons instead of concentrating on correcting errors. In the first place, they must remember that criticism, as a method of finding the most valid solutions, leads to the elimination of manifestations of all sorts of social evil. The struggle with negative phenomena affecting the party member's performance, honest criticism of errors and shortcomings in the party echelons and its full-time apparatus are not only its right but above all its obligation.

For what and to what extent can one criticize echelons and the party apparatus? The answer is simple: for all failures in echelon performance,

from the bottom to the top and from the top to the bottom. "The principle of democratic centralization and the autonomy of regional institutions precisely indicates freedom from criticism, fully and everywhere, if this does not impair the unity of a specific operation--and if it does not impair or hinder the unity of an operation decided by the party." (V. Lenin, "Works," Vol 10, Warsaw 1955 pp 441-443).

At the same time, this is not only a matter of criticizing but of drawing adequate conclusions from the criticism. Constructive and responsible criticism has nothing in common with idle moaning; it represents a starting point for endeavors intended to improve the situation, stimulates activity and promotes its utilization in practice.

Tough and complex conditions require of the permanent party cadre independence combined with discipline and party responsibility. But those are the requirements as they pertain to a full-time party cadre. All present and future party functionaries, selected at election-reporting conferences as well as those appointed by party echelons for permanent employment, should be aware of them.

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## OFFICIAL CULTURAL POLICY CRITICIZED

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 4, 29 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Szczepan Zaryn: "In the World of Illusions"]

[Text] When is it open season on a government minister in the PRL [Polish People's Republic]? In principle, the answer should be simple: when the actions undertaken by this minister bear their first fruit. In practice, however, it was never so and only a minister's departure from his post started an avalanche of criticisms and recapitulations. Only then was it possible to discuss in peace the former administrator's negligences, failures and errors. This experience teaches us that one must decide for oneself when the closed season is over before it is too late. I have therefore decided to tackle now the current minister of culture and art, Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, who has been in office long enough for one to discuss the implementation of his concept of cultural policy. First, however, I must make certain observations.

Cultural policy in the PRL is traditionally two-sided, depending on the sources inspiring it. On the one hand it is a reflection of the reality which it is to influence, and on the other, it constitutes a sum of directives derived from ideological assumptions with which the authorities identify themselves. Although in principle these two directions should not create separate spheres of cultural policy, in practice they remain in conflict with each other. This is a general remark. In the specific case of the current cultural administration one can note that it derives its policy above all from a certain vision of reality. This finds its expression in the basic approach to the dissemination of culture. Dissemination of culture has achieved paramount significance and is to be a panaceum that will cure the dilapidated heritage of the culture of the past periods. It is also to be the statutory foundation of cultural policy. That being the case, one ought to ask how strong is this foundation? In my opinion it is being weakened by a number of big illusions. Let us examine them one by one.

#### The Illusion of Full Control

We are dealing with a specific vision of reality in the currently implemented conception of cultural policy. The argument goes like this: the state has at its disposal an enormous network of institutions for the dissemination of culture, in which masses of people are employed; therefore it ought to be enough to beef up this structure financially, add new investments, and in a

short period it will be full of rich cultural life. There is indeed an abundance of institutions for the dissemination of culture such as: houses of culture, cultural centers, clubs, community centers, museums, libraries, art exhibit offices, salons and art galleries. All these institutions are cited in the statute. The army of culture dissemination workers numbers nearly 70,000 people, which is quite a sizable cadre. What, however do all these numbers and statistics mean?

As far as the cadres are concerned, their situation can best be rendered by one word: incapacitation. The actions of these people are pressed into the framework of such conceptions as the dissemination plan (annual, of course!), organization of performances (mostly "in celebration of"), the balance of attendance--in a word, the "processing." A large number of them work within the system of office hours, which means that in culture, too, "the receiving of clients" is in force (except that the clients do not line up). Some of the culture dissemination workers try to be cultural activists, but quickly give up, because within defined frames there really is no room for independence. Especially young graduates of culture knowledge [kulturoznawstwo] (there indeed is such a university program) could say much on this subject. The result of pressing the culture dissemination workers into the framework of the system is resignation from personal ambitions followed by a lowering of their professional skills. Their office qualifications are all that is needed; knowledge in the areas of sociology, art or psychology is not only unnecessary but may even be harmful. After all, their directors, who were assigned "to culture" because they did not do well in construction or agriculture, may be driven into undesirable complexes. . .

And what about the institutions for the dissemination of culture? What do in fact such names as Provincial House of Culture, District House of Culture, the GOK or Gmina Culture Center, mean? What they mean is that the structure of cultural institutions is modeled on the structure of territorial administration. Just as there is a State Railroads Regional Headquarters or a Provincial Management Office of Roads and Bridges, in the same way institutions are created which are to manage culture in an administratively defined area. These institutions must be centrally planned and must not (and usually do not) have anything in common with the reality of cultural life. Their existence is not dictated by a regional tradition or the needs of culturally active communities, but is the result of decisions made at the central level, in accordance with a prescribed model. For this reason the existence of these institutions is not endangered. Even if they do not carry out any sensible activity, they still have a guaranteed position in the budget; it suffices that they annually prepare an appropriate report about the fulfillment of the "performance-attendance-processing" plan. Endangered, on the other hand, is the existence of weaker institutions lacking developed bureaucratic support and managed by only one or two people, such as libraries, clubs or community centers. These are not in a position to prepare reports that would impress the central imagination, and therefore they are undergoing liquidation at a frightening rate.

Now we reaching the essence of the illusion of full control. The illusion is generated by the conviction that the central management assigned to carrying

out the state's cultural policy has an army of people at its disposal and a network of institutions implementing on their territories the vision of a democratic culture. In fact, it only represents a certain degree of control over a bureaucratic structure whose connection with the nation's cultural life is very weak. This illusion, however, has its strengths and very tangible practical effects. It strengthens the traditional conception of centralized cultural policy, which additionally is reinforced by the new law. In fairness it must be said that the central administration's omnipotence was challenged during the discussion of the statute on the dissemination of culture, which took place during the session of the Culture Council. The illusion of full control prevailed, however, and even spread to new regions of cultural life.

To be specific, the illusion has affected the way of viewing the social patronage of the arts. It is said (justly so) that we have many patrons: the cooperative movement, social organizations, trade unions, enterprises, etc. These patrons, however, are said to "lack properly coordinated cooperation." It is this "cooperation" that the minister of culture and art is supposed to take care of. As the result of total centralization, such initiatives as suggesting that the part of the enterprises's profit which is assigned for culture be exempt from taxes by the Finance Ministry, have absolutely no chance of realization. "What for?" ask the economists soberly. Since the minister of culture and art has a Central Fund for the Development of Culture and supervises everything, let him pay from this fund!

Another result of the idea of leaving the patronage exclusively in the hands of the central culture administration is the so-called Fund for Literature. The financial base for the fund consists of allocations from publishers' profits. To put it simply, publishers--thanks to whom literary creation is circulating in society--are to give money to the central administration which will decide how to develop this creativity. The Fund for Literature--as it is described in a disarmingly frank way--is to be a "tool of the state's cultural policy toward the literary communities." Needless to say, the decisions as to where the finances from the Fund for Literature ought to go have been placed in the hands of the minister of culture and art.

Let us ask one more question. Is the decision center for cultural policy fully equipped with the authority and responsibility to fulfill the role assigned to it? The paradoxical thing is that powers of the minister of culture and art are very limited. This weakness has been the traditional cause of the paralysis of the cultural policy. Minister Zygulski's administration is not an exception in this respect. I am saying this so boldly because I can support it with a statement by Minister Zygulski himself. In that statement one can find the information that investments for culture will depend on the stability of the whole of the economy. By translating this language of economics into the practice of the state administration we can see that the minister of culture and art will be able to satisfy the needs of his department only after the ministers of the so-called production or priority departments. This secondary and "after-production" position of culture will not be very strong. Other social needs will be more important, such as day care centers and kindergartens (the baby boom will make sure of that!). Thus we can safely forecast that the department of culture will

be the last one to come out of the crisis. These, however, are forecasts and let us hope they will be proven wrong. Now let us return to the model of cultural policy.

### The Illusion of Full Anarchy

Where does the bureaucratic vision of culture err? In the belief that the infrastructure of culture is formed by the sum of institutions created to administer culture. In fact, the infrastructure is formed by a collection of culture-creating communities which come into existence independently of administrative decisions. These are, of course, artistic groups which are bound together by the unity of convictions, program, or generation; they can also consist of individuals inspiring their social environment. The latter ones become the local authorities: a priest, a teacher, an amateur artist, or a person full of ideas with whom it is easy to cooperate. All these individuals and groups possessing cultural initiative create the reality of culture. Or rather, could create, if they did not come into collision with the administrative structure. By the virtue of its assigned role, the administrative structure gives itself the exclusive right to administer cultural life and views all nonofficial activities as symptoms of a dangerous chaos. At the lowest level it results in a situation in which the GOK director carries battles over prestige until the bitter end with the local authority (in which he is supported without fail by the gmina chief) and either paralyzes the cultural initiative or forces its remnants between the frames of his office. The effects in both cases are the same: the discouraged initiators return into the enclosures of their homes and limit their cultural activities to watching television.

A village or small town parish priest able to gather around himself a group of enthusiasts also should not trespass on the area of culture. It is true that he may be able to establish a cultural society, rebuild a local mansion with community hands, put life into the community--but will he be allowed to? After all, there are other institutions assigned to it, which, however, will do nothing for lack of funds, but at least the gmina chief will sleep peacefully because there will be no mixing of authority between the departments of religion and culture. . . This is not a dreamed-up piece of fiction, nor does it only reflect the state of consciousness on the gmina level. Currently when there has been a revival of cultural life inspired by parishes, such linguistic absurdities as "religious culture" are appearing also at a high level. Let us treat this notion seriously and ask whether, for example, Krzysztof Penderecki, the author of the "Passion According to St. Luke," is a representative of "religious culture"? Does broadcasting of Christmas carols on television make Chairman Wojciechowski a representative of "religious culture"?

Joking apart, we are not concerned here with linguistic episodes, but with a way of thinking about religious culture based on the illusion of full control. An administrator of cultural institutions, who is given the management of an area, logically assumes that all is in order when nothing escapes his control. And since the reality of culture takes place nearly completely outside of his institution, he quite naturally finds himself under the illusion of full

anarchy. This generates a dangerous conflict. The desire to counteract this illusory "anarchy" leads to an effective liquidation of all cultural initiatives. As one knows, the authorities may have difficulties with the realization of a certain idea, while it is very easy for them to liquidate social activity. Particularly in a sphere which needs so much support and help as culture does.

Cultural policy, revolving within the circle of these two illusions, requires a reorientation. An alternative is to rely on the initiative of individuals, groups and communities which want to create culture. Areas of cultural activity must be discerned and skillfully supported. Only institutions with such orientation in the dissemination of culture have any chance of operating sensibly. When talking about cultural activity, I also have in mind the one inspired by economic motives. A publishing partnership, a producer of sound recordings, a Polonia firm wishing to earn money on the production of films or video cassettes, need not necessarily be harbingers of cultural anarchy. "Ideologically" watchful journalists (and others) talk immediately about "commercialized culture." This is another illusion, for which finance ministers the world over know the cure. While we are at it, however, we should ask ourselves the question, what laws govern the most popular institutions of culture dissemination, such as amusement parks, cultural fairs, discotheques and restaurants with an "artistic program"? Are their activities financed by the Fund for the Development of Culture? Yet, these are probably the only manifestations of cultural life which are not threatened by decline, lack of funds, low investments and depreciation. . . The problem of commercialization is imaginary as long as there is no culture market. A cultural policy absorbed in such imaginary problems goes astray instead of focusing on important questions.

The reanimation of dying or dead cultural institutions is not at all the basic issue of cultural policy. Pumping new money into the choked ducts of bureaucratized cultural institutions will solve nothing. The basic question which cultural policy needs to ask is, how do we overcome the barrier of the low cultural activization of society? How do we promote this activization? In short, we can say that the drama is not in the lack of libraries but in the lack of books and readers. It is not important that the number of movie houses is declining, but that we have too few films and continually fewer viewers. One ought to be worried not by the fact that we have an insufficient number of houses of culture, but that the ones that exist are deadly sterile. For if sociological studies show that over 90 percent of young working people in industrial towns have never stepped into a club or house of culture, the conclusion which a culture politician ought to draw from this should not be limited to the assigning of funds for a repair of those objects and to the raising of salaries of people employed in them.

### Illusions

Professor Kazimierz Zygulski, after assuming his portfolio, stated in an interview: "I have always defended and will continue to defend the democratic conception of culture." What is this ideal of democratic culture? I think it ought to be a culture of widespread social participation and the

culture of a creative self-realization of individuals. Well, this ideal cannot be built by erecting an endless number of barriers. On the contrary, the conflict, which is expressed by all the basic failures of the cultural policy, will continue. On the one hand we are dealing with a cultural policy treated as an answer to human needs. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and shows, art 2, point 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

In fact, the basic ideological assumption is precisely the conception of a "democratic culture." On the other hand, the barriers which make difficult and even impossible its realization do not belong at all to the ideological sphere. They are derived in a straight line from the purely bureaucratic doctrine founded on two illusions: full control and full anarchy. This doctrine is extraordinarily productive: it produces a countless number of illusions which can paralyze even the most sensible conception of cultural policy.

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## SHORTCOMINGS IN TRAINING, PLACEMENT OF WORKERS

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/Roundtable discussion by Univ Prof Dr Petre Burloiu, Academy of Economic Studies; Ion Constantinescu, director, Industrial Central for Power and Metallurgical Equipment; Prof Constantin Ionescu, director of High School for Precision Machinery; Reader Dr Ioan Jinga, general inspector of Bucharest municipal schools; Octavian Juncu, director of Institute of Electronics Research and Design; Teodor Marian, director, Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry; Florea Neagu, director of Personnel Improvement Center, Ministry of Mines; Univ Prof Dr Docent Paul Popescu-Neveanu, Bucharest University; Ion Pacuraru, director, Ministry of Labor; Steliana Pert, chief scientific researcher, Institute of Socialist Economics; and Iosif Tripsa, state secretary, Ministry of Education and instruction, recorded by Mihai Mazanet and Liviu Melinte

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in November 1983, "We must realize that all the programs we are discussing depend upon an adequate educational level and further improvement of the professional, technical and scientific training of workers, technicians, engineers and workers in all sectors."

And as it says in the Program for More Pronounced Labor Productivity Growth and for Improved Organization and Standardization of Labor in 1983-1985 and on to 1990, "Improved qualifications and professional training of all personnel will be essential factors for fulfillment of the tasks for more pronounced growth of labor productivity. The adopted measures for further improvement of education its closer correlation with production, and better professional and technical training of workers, technicians, specialists and all workers will be strictly enforced so that they can operate modern production equipment and produce a quality output. Steps will be taken for better distribution of the existing forces among the new districts so as to combine the long experience of the senior personnel with the enthusiasm of the young workers and specialists, in order to resolve the problems in keeping with the qualitative and technical standards demanded by Romania's social development."

And the Program for Technical and Qualitative Improvement of Products, Reduced Consumption of Raw Materials, Fuel and Energy, and Better Use of Raw Materials

and Materials in 1983-1985 and on to 1990 says, "The economic units' collective management organs will take steps to enhance the professional and technical-scientific knowledge of workers and all personnel, since improving their qualifications and broadening their horizon of knowledge are essential to the best solution of the problems of modernizing every economic unit in order to raise the technical and qualitative standards of production as a whole."

The objectives and tasks assigned by the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference for development and modernization of the economy and of Romanian society as a whole very urgently require qualification, improved qualification and more efficient use of labor resources. The importance of these problems was emphasized again at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983.

Man has always been society's main productive force, and it is especially true in the present period, when a scientific-technical revolution of unprecedented extent and depth is taking place, that any country's progress inevitably depends upon its concern for the sound general and occupational training of its people and the way its manpower is distributed and used.

Romania has made notable progress in the years of socialist construction, and especially since the Ninth Party Congress, in organizing and developing technical and occupational education and in its use of the active population. But it is equally true that there still are problems that are only partially resolved. The purpose of the discussion arranged by ERA SOCIALISTA is to contribute to the more thorough examination of these situations and to present some ways of improving the occupational training, recycling and use of the human resources, in accordance with the objectives and requirements formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in November 1983 and with those included in the programs approved by the plenum.

IOSIF TRIPSA: Romania has made great progress in the last few years in improving its system for training its labor force. In the first place the first stage of high school has been generalized, and in the second place all pupils, those in both the first and second stage, are also learning a trade. Even the youths in the theoretical high schools, so to speak, are being trained in a mechanical or electrotechnical trade or one in light industry, etc. We may say that Romania has a modern system for training its labor force. I would mention here that all the developed countries are making sustained efforts today to professionalize the pupils as well, so that they will not only learn certain general disciplines and acquire a diploma but will also be trained when the graduate in a profession or trade.

To say that Romanian education is modern does not implicitly mean that all problems have been solved in keeping with the current requirements. Several points are involved here. In the first place the Romanian educational system, uniform and integrated and based upon an original idea of training the labor force, is a dynamic system but it is lagging somewhat behind Romania's socioeconomic necessities which, in their turn, are even more dynamic. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the National Party Conference, the Romanian economy is provided with some of the most modern machinery and equipment on a high technical level, but the labor force is not yet capable of meeting the need of greater economic effectiveness or the standards of productivity, quality and competitiveness.



attained in the world today. That is why it was requested at the recent Plenum of the CPR Central Committee that education contribute more to the solution of the great problems of development and modernization of the Romanian economy by providing personnel in all occupations with a sound theoretical and practical training enabling them to assimilate and make good use of the latest scientific and technical advances.

In the second place, we must point out that although the present educational system has been perfected, it has not been entirely applied everywhere because various factors, including the human factor as such, have sometimes obstructed the new instead of promoting and furthering it. A better understanding of the schools' problems was needed, but not all the teachers proved capable of mastering the new directives correctly. Both public opinion and the family also had an influence that was not always favorable. Sometimes we overlooked this situation, when in fact we should have emphasized it and taken more energetic action to make all parents and teachers understand and support the efforts to renovate and modernize Romanian education.

I think serious deficiencies are caused by other factors too, such as our failure to provide some of the best material conditions everywhere for the youths' practical instruction or suitable teachers, especially for the rural 10-year general schools. This was primarily because all the actual recipients of the labor force (that is the "beneficiaries" of education, namely the enterprises and economic units) did not become actively involved in solving those problems. Not all the enterprises provided production plans, raw materials, craftsmen and technical personnel that were truly adequate for the guidance and training of the youths receiving their practical-productive instruction in school shops and enterprises. This has necessitated some specific measures recently. For instance, in 1982 the trade schools and those for craftsmen were transferred to the enterprises, and the organization and operation of the school shops in all industrial high schools were placed under their direct supervision.

IOAN JINGA: Of course improvement of the school-trained labor force involves the efforts of several elements on several levels. By elements I mean the teachers, children's and youth organizations, the family, the socioeconomic units and the mass media, as well as the regulatory-organizational plan, the plan for scholastic and vocational guidance, plans for content (those for education, school programs and textbooks), the training properly speaking (theoretical and practical) and, in connection with it, training and improvement of teachers and their professional education. I too would like to point out that we have clear objectives, a suitable organizational and regulatory framework, and what I would call a rather plentiful material base, and that it is actually our duty and that of everyone involved in training the labor force to first make full use of those and then to analyze them in depth for their improvement.

As a matter of fact major improvements have been made in the labor force's training since the party administration's decision also to provide graduates of schools of various levels with an occupational training permitting their integration in a useful social activity. Despite the existing shortcomings in this area, which occur in any developmental process, most of the graduates of trade schools and of the first and second stages of high school are receiving the basic theoretical and practical training to practice one or more trades. This

statement can be verified "in action" in any school or enterprise. Note also that in Bucharest the pupils are performing operations to the value of about 190 million lei a year in the course of their practical instruction activities.

IOSIF TRIPSA: To be sure we now have a good strategy in the education and instruction policy. The Romanian educational system is open. In other words anyone may have any kind of education that interests him. But this character of the Romanian school system is somewhat abused at times, because I have never seen anyone asking the ministry to transfer a pupil from a health high school to a mining high school, for example, but parents often wish to withdraw their child from practical-productive training and especially from more difficult trades to easier ones.

Providing a labor force with the qualifications absolutely essential for the complex trades is another very important and urgent problem. For example, we are training turners for universal lathes and consequently for machine tools with modest technical performances (which of course does not mean we are retiring them from the inventory), but high economic effectiveness and better quality are obtained with highly technical, specialized machines with instruction programs, unit-head machine tools, etc., and I think the training is really inadequate for such complex trades. The same thing is true of the trades in mining, petroleum, etc. or in agriculture. Although the technical inventory in large-scale crop-raising, zootechnology and truck gardening has become much more complex, we are still not training enough workers with the required qualifications. Indeed there was a time when many were unwilling to become farmers even if they were born and raised in the country. It is true that the results obtained in all economic sectors and in growth of economic effectiveness and the national wealth heavily depend upon the way we train the labor force.

ION PACURARU: To go on with what Comrade Tripsa was saying, I should like to point out that some general, macroeconomic problems arise in connection with training the labor force but also some in every particular production sector. In the first place, there is a certain discrepancy, both quantitative and qualitative, between the needs of the national economy and training the labor force. From the quantitative standpoint alone, the phenomenon is generally as follows: Even if enough working personnel are trained numerically, they still do not meet the exact needs of the economy according to the trades structure in most cases largely because of deficiencies in occupational training. I do not think we always guide youth sufficiently toward qualifications in keeping with the socioeconomic necessities. For example, the first stage of high school was made compulsory, which is all very well, but it was structured according to counties "in the general way" and not always according to the counties' particular needs but in the light of certain actual situations at the time, such as teaching staff, material base, etc. Since it is qualitatively inappropriate, this geographic distribution of schools necessitates a number of "accommodations." First, not a few children are guided toward the easier, more pleasant and more modern occupations, for which we train them. Then we have to retrain them because the actual requirements for qualified people are otherwise.

In the second place, those who cannot get into a given school go where there are still vacancies. We have to train them all. And then those who cannot get in elsewhere go to the miners schools, for example, because there are still

vacancies there. Even girls go there. We have schools and high schools of all kinds, but in certain trades (miners, drillers, builders) there are still "empty grades" that are filled more or less at random. The process of reorienting and retraining some youths does not begin until after they have completed school.

I feel the Romanian educational system should be more efficient in this respect. If every school and high school would check how many graduates who have completed the first stage are allocated, after a number of years, to the trade for which they were trained, they would find that some of them are retrained once, twice or three times.

ION CONSTANTINESCU: I think the various elements are responsible for the failures Comrade Pacurararu mentioned. How can an enterprise director allow a youth with a given qualification to do something else?

ION PACURARU: Several years ago I tried to create a vocational guidance system "down to the bottom" in enterprises, according to counties, etc. For various reasons I did not succeed in doing this, but I once had the curiosity to compile some statistics: In 1956-1968 the "loss" of trade school graduates was 40-50 percent, while that of on-job-qualification courses was 60-80 percent.

IOSIF TRIPSA: Actually the attendance figures for various high schools, subjects, grades and trades are set locally, while the territorial-administrative organs are responsible for the way the labor force is trained for each city and commune and also for industrial sectors. All the ministries have directorates of education and are concerned with training the labor force. The figures are assembled, and the specialists of the CSP /State Planning Committee/, the Ministry of Labor, and the Ministry of Education and Instruction compile the national plan.

If all the "components" functioned as they should, beginning with the territorial organs, enterprises etc., a schooling plan would be compiled that would be much more accurate about the needs of the economy and of society in general, because speaking grosso modo planning in education as contrasted with any other sector can be perfect. For we already know in 1983 which classes were born in each year. For example, the children born in 1982 will reach the first stage of high school in 14 years, that is in 1996. We are already able to put the schooling plan for 1996 in a computer and draft it very accurately.

ION CONSTANTINESCU: Then what causes the difficulties we are discussing here?

IOSIF TRIPSA: The main cause is the irresponsible way some of the above-mentioned elements treat the various aspects of the problem.

ION PACURARU: The work of the Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of Labor on planning the Labor Force is ultimately based on the data from enterprises. Unfortunately the greatest trouble is that we in the Ministry of Labor and those in other central organs cannot intervene from either the material nor the human standpoints because the reports and plans we receive from enterprises about the manpower requirement are sometimes unrealistic and cursory. For example, not long ago we were blamed for the lack of qualified people in certain trades, and quite rightly so. But when we analyzed the enterprises'

requests for training qualified personnel we found that they were not only filled but even exceeded. Yet there is a shortage of manpower in some trades.

IOAN JINGA: In the last few years I have often heard statements from enterprise directors like "I have not been provided with the necessary manpower," "They did not give me any forgers, founders or die casters," etc. But I do not think the problem should be phrased in those terms, because no one else should "give" or "provide" the enterprises with the needed labor force. It is their first duty to do so in the most elementary spirit of foresight and economic sense. I think the attempt to shift responsibility for recruitment of manpower outside the enterprise is harmful. Since it knows the enterprise's prospective development over at least a 5-year period, the management can quite easily determine the manpower requirement as to volume, level of qualification and structure, allowing of course for natural losses, average personnel turnover, multiple qualification and requalification of existing personnel, qualification of another part of the indirectly productive personnel, etc. in the calculations. Then it would be very clear how many workers are to be trained in trade schools or high school.

The next step is in the direction of promoting the enterprise, the work place and the various trades within the schools from which the future workers will be recruited. But we are bound to say that the problem of scholastic and vocational guidance is still left entirely up to the schools by many enterprises. To be sure the schools have a heavy responsibility in this, but the enterprise can make a decisive contribution at times by convincing youths to choose a given trade. This contribution calls for people skilled in promoting the trade and enterprise, arranging parents' and children's visits to sections and shops (thoroughly prepared and planned visits), and producing the richest and most convincing illustrative material. But we must admit that the schools' efforts toward scholastic and vocational guidance are also cursory and unsystematic at times.

PAUL POPESCU-NEVEANU: Years ago we were making some efforts to devise and apply systems both for scholastic guidance and for vocational selection. The Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of Labor were making such efforts but they abandoned them in time, just as psychological research and psychological education in general have been actually limited. Moreover the psychologist's specialty is no longer on the table of professions.

IOAN JINGA: Scholastic and vocational guidance actually means harmonizing the the manpower requirements with people's aptitudes, actual potentials and needs.

PAUL POPESCU-NEVEANU: Of course real scholastic guidance is based on a psychogram and on study of the adolescent's aptitudes, which require a psychological diagnosis by competent personnel, interdisciplinary teams of psychologists, physicians, sociologists, economists etc.

CONSTANTIN IONESCU: I should like to ask a question. How could a psychodiagram help us determine whether a youth will be suited to the trade of miner or petroleum worker or even an iron and steel worker? How far would a study by those means indicate the optimal psycho-optimal structure to include the respective aptitudes, considering that the tests begin at the preadolescent age?

PAUL POPESCU-NEVEANU: A complete personality profile is needed for such difficult occupations. Actually each occupation requires a whole series of conditions. For example, they may be conditions of space structuring in micro or macro. In electronics, if a child cannot see below an acute angle or rearrange micro-structures he could not be recommended for further training in that trade and has to be reoriented. Other spatial relations and other approaches enter into other occupations. According to worldwide experience, there are a great many possible tests to determine whether an individual is really suited to a given trade, so that it is no longer a question of individual interests and inclinations.

IOSIF TRIPSA: In 20 tries the same person will perform a certain action or operation increasingly well. I do not think we should label him "unsuited" right at the start. Experience shows that in 99 percent of the cases all those who climb up a derrick for the first time have "height sickness," only 60 percent the second time, 2 percent the 20th time, etc. The power of education and practice is very great except, of course, in exceptional cases.

PAUL POPESCU-NEVEANU: Not all the tests can be practiced. Most of them permit only a very slow and uncertain improvement in the performances, which we who have been working in psychological laboratories for decades know from the experiments performed. And then some examination systems determining occupational activities directly involve the so called "rate of engagement," which also varies widely with the individual. I do not believe counterindications can be formulated in exceptional cases alone. If a series of youths show, according to groups, certain optimal structures upon repeated and varied examinations, then we can make a knowledgeable occupational orientation (allowing of course for the terms of the social demand) because at 18-20 years the main capacities are formed in a proportion of 80 percent and restructurings or developments at an adult age are rather difficult and limited. Of course the orientation is made for groups of related occupations and as a rule no one can be trained for one occupation alone. It is important to avoid any blatant discrepancies between the personal structure and the structure of the occupational activity because then there are high risks of failure, despite possible compensations, and the losses are incalculable.

PETRE BURLOIU: At the present time throughout the world the psychologists are supporting some criteria for the methodology of vocational guidance and the teachers are supporting others. Experience shows that the various tests of children's aptitudes, interests, inclinations etc. are often refuted when they grow older. I do not think we should go so far as to deny the effectiveness of these tests, but neither do I think we should consider them infallible. In France, for example, the procedure for vocational guidance is as follows: The pupils who accept the recommendation based on a psychogram, tests etc. are admitted to certain secondary schools without entrance examinations, while those who do not accept it or do not have one must take the examination. Is it a matter of secondary education?

IOAN JINGA: Although the Ministry of Education and Instruction has regulated teachers' obligations and the methods of efficient scholastic and vocational guidance, the activity is empirical and sporadic in some schools. It is based on the idea of inducing youths to choose a given school and a given occupation

without adequately justifying the advice of scholastic and vocational guidance to them. Yet it is known that youths' aptitudes and desires cannot be harmonized with society's demands administratively, by "decreeing" that so-and-so among them is good only for a certain occupation, but by developing in pupils the lasting inner motivations which, in harmony with the external ones, will make the choice of an occupation stable and its performance pleasant and accordingly very efficient. But I think that approach calls for reconsideration of the education and improvement of teachers in any field in order to initiate them in the methods and techniques that will enable them to know the pupils as thoroughly as possible and to formulate scholastic and vocational advice as competently as possible. Moreover the instructors and professors do not make enough use of the professional manuals and direct contact with the enterprises as a basis for serious and convincing guidance. I think this is an important place for collaboration between the school and the enterprise in order to implement common objectives in the way of scholastic and vocational guidance.

PETRE BURLOIU: I think we should consider the present active generations and especially those who are to be trained and become active after the year 2000. I stress this point because at present the technological evolution is only partly predictable. Therefore in order to train the new generations we must concentrate on some basic and constantly perfectible disciplines as well as the individual's ability to adjust with sufficient flexibility as he practices his occupation. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the start of the new school year in his speech at the Grand People's Assembly in Cluj-Napoca, this basic scientific training must be very solid whether it is in a high school, trade school or a faculty.

The second factor that I think should be given more consideration is the demographic factor. What are the series of children who will join the ranks of the population fit to work in the next two or three decades? We have the constitutional obligation to make complete use of the labor force, which means that all Romanian citizens must be efficiently used from the social point of view. At this point I would like to express a thought of mine, namely that it is one thing to generalize a duration of education and another thing to generalize uniform 10 or 12-year education. Why? Children's individual capacities cannot and never will be equal. I think uniform training is too long even now, when it extends up to the first stage (that is 10th grade). We might possibly consider the alternative of uniform 7 or 8-year education with further training up to 10-12 school years (I am a partisan of compulsory 12-year education) to be diversified among trade schools as well as high schools.

IOAN JINGA: And within them, I would add, the education should be for optional groups and according to necessities.

PETRE BURLOIU: According to both necessities and desires and aptitudes. Romanian education is an open education, as Comrade Tripsa said, and it is good that it is. Even if a pupil has attended a trade school and wants to improve his training later, he should have the opportunity to take correspondence or evening courses and possibly take certain tests or competitive examinations.

ION PACURARU: To return to the question of efficient use of the labor force in enterprises, I should like to mention that I investigated this not long ago.

I found that some enterprises did not even know what their needs would be for the next year. Why? Who are the people concerned with the problem of manpower in all its aspects in enterprises? While there are a great many people for the fixed assets and the material base, there are only a few for matters of recruiting the labor force, that critical element of production, some of whom lack the necessary training and do a cursory job when they do it.

IOAN JINGA: Two years ago the managers of a big enterprise in Bucharest were complaining that they were short over 100 metal cutters. I was to see what the situation was. They had 600 men over the average planned staff requirement! And the second class of graduates in the same year had been turned down. The question arises, why do the turners, milling machine operators and founders leave their trades for others? The cooperatives, for example, have reported 1,650 vacancies for ready-made clothing, and public catering is requesting a large number of people, while on the macrosocial level 90 percent of high school pupils attend industrial high schools. But society also needs a number of people for other fields such as tailoring, shoemaking and public catering, and the schools are not providing them, creating the opportunity for industrial workers to "emigrate" to such areas.

OCTAVIAN JUNCU: It is no news that some pupils have nothing in common with the trade they are learning. I entirely agree that education is not solely responsible for this situation, as it has been said. We plan, let us say, 3,000 turners, we train them, and then we find that most of them have no intention of becoming turners and, in fact, have learned nothing to use in the work that really interests them. I know of cases where only 25 graduates out of 200 turners proved suited to that trade. The rest are no good because they were recruited and trained routinely. Many youths feel that they have completed a stage in their lives by graduating from some school and that they will not begin to see how they could be employed until later.

STELIANA PERT: How then could the sense of responsibility of all elements involved in training the labor force be improved?

IOSIF TRIPSA: Only by a general effort, from children, teachers, parents and public and youth organizations to enterprise managements and workers councils and including the Ministry of Education and Instruction, which should organize this whole system better to make it function properly, shall we succeed in appreciably improving the training of the qualified working personnel we need so much and in indoctrinating youths and all their teachers with a revolutionary spirit and a high socialist awareness in keeping with the requirements so clearly formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Mangalia Conference.

I stress this point of making all elements aware of the great importance of training the labor force because it is lagging. I think one of the main purposes of our discussion is to help draw more attention to the problems we are discussing and to make the necessary behavioral changes in various elements who have so far thought rather lightly of the aspects in question, thinking they would resolve themselves automatically because we have a good educational system and good schools, we have admitted all the children to that system, we are schooling all of them up to the 10th grade, we are providing them with experience for one-third of the time, etc.

ION PACURARU: I consider it essential to improve the existing labor force in order to bring the working personnel's knowledge up to the level of the technical-material inventories (as the Program for More Pronounced Labor Productivity Growth requires) so as to attain higher effectiveness indicators in all fields. I think this is a priority consideration because, as the program specifies, the objective is to double labor productivity in the next few years as a sine qua non for closing the gaps that still separate Romania from the economically developed states and for raising the living standard to the quotas to which the Romanian people aspire.

STELIANA PERT: Comrade Pacuraru is right, but the problem has two aspects. The first is training the labor force by education or outside of education, and the second is proper use of skills, which means employment of people on the principle of "the right man in the right place." This is both a key problem of effective education and a problem of great practical importance. We have people with adequate and even very high professional qualifications, but sufficient interest is not always taken in their full participation in production. Accordingly part of the investment in training remains unused. The finding is based on studies made in economic units, especially in sectors with scarce trades like the mining industry, agriculture, the "heat" sections in machine building, etc.

IOSIF TRIPSA: I made a number of checks in units maintaining that they lacked manpower in certain trades, such as steel workers and rolling-mill operators in iron and steel combines and miners in coal-mining combines. Actually the number of men trained for those trades was twice the requirement, but many of them were working elsewhere.

It is essential to train and improve the labor force, but it is equally important to make the best use of the existing potential because otherwise there are losses. Society makes heavy outlays on occupational training that should show results in the form of greater, better and cheaper outputs. We have trained 4 or 5 times more machine operators for agriculture than were actually needed in the country, but they are not always where they are supposed to be.

TEODOR MARIAN: The problem is very complex and a great deal could be said about it in connection with agriculture and the food industry. We have a very intensive network of schools for those sectors, most of them being agroindustrial high schools. But we have some difficulties in placing graduates of the latter, over 50-60 percent of whom are girls, especially in the field of agricultural machinery, and few enterprises are willing to hire girls.

The problem of placement of school graduates, with its effects upon personnel stability, has yet to be entirely resolved. Possibly the best graduates of the agroindustrial high schools could hold more important jobs on the agricultural production teams, having graduated as craftsmen, or in other such operational functions in great demand by the units.

ION CONSTANTINESCU: We find that workers teams sometimes reject graduates of high schools and trade schools. I work at the Industrial Central for Power and Metallurgical Equipment where we have many enterprises under us, and the phenomenon under discussion is readily apparent there. The reason is that as a rule the young graduates have a lower labor productivity at the start, which detracts



from the whole team's pay. Moreover there are also youths who have no "appetite" for work. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to take the most effective steps to remedy these anomalies. The pupils should be much more regularly and thoroughly indoctrinated in school to accentuate their desire to work.

IOAN JINGA: I believe certain trades should be popularized much more continuously, namely the trades where we have shortages of manpower. The enterprises very rarely allocate funds to popularize the scarce trades or to persuade youths to choose them. I am a graduate of a trade school in Resita, and I know how hard the work was in the casting shops there in my time. But the situation has greatly improved since then with the introduction of wide-scale mechanization, automation etc. The advantages and material incentives of the more difficult occupations should be better explained to the youths and their parents. Perhaps the scholarships system could also be more encouraging, so that youths will be induced to go into those sectors.

OCTAVIAN JUNCU: Indeed there are anomalies in the process of training the labor force. I would raise the question of the way the labor force is selected at times. Comrade Jinga is right about the need of popularizing certain trades, but I would rather say "presenting" them, because the youths and even the children should have the clearest possible picture of the various trades but there is also a need of testing their ability to practice them. I work in the electronics sector, a trade that seems "more convenient" to many youths. And it is indeed more convenient than work in agriculture or in a "heat" section. But I do not think the criterion of convenience or any other determines a youth to train for a trade. Often the parents judge superficially: "Let the child go to a school, learn a trade, and then we shall see." And then the situation arises where youths trained for a trade are doing something else after they graduate. Years ago it was traditional for the child to follow his parent's trade, which he learned at home. If he was a son of an agricultural expert, for example, he knew clearly what was involved, had the fundamentals of it in his "blood," and was not "leaping" into the unknown. In industry there were turners and die casters from father to son. Now they no longer exist.

To return to what we were saying before, I feel we should proceed from very clear premises: For what are we training people? For what society and on what technological level do we want to train skilled personnel? For if we look at technology up to the year 2000, our approach to training is not always appropriate.

If we wish to train a developed labor force I think we must provide it with the necessary general knowledge on the basis of which each worker can supplement his occupational training later on with any kind of new element that comes along and also be fit to practice a trade effectively with multiple qualifications. But the instruction in some very important general disciplines, beginning with the natural sciences of all categories, mathematics etc. still leaves something to be desired.

Experience in production is another consideration. It used to be rather underemphasized in the educational process. Bringing the pupils into factories is a very good thing, but it cannot automatically guarantee the future workers' practical training. Why? Because the factories have plan indicators, a given

production capacity, equipment and machine tools that they cannot turn over to anybody. The school youth cannot be left to operate the enterprise's machines effectively until he has a sufficiently advanced knowledge of the technologies. But the schools have to provide the basic instruction and of course they have to be adequately equipped to do so.

CONSTANTIN IONESCU: The questions raised by Comrade Juncu also involve other considerations. As we know, the energy crisis also leads to a technological crisis. Yet our educational plans and programs apparently ignore this technological crisis and base the instruction entirely upon energy-intensive methods and equipment as they did when petroleum was 10 times cheaper.

I should like to bring up another problem that has been troubling me for several years. Why do some enterprises prefer the trade school graduate over the high school graduate, although the latter has 4 years of experience in the same trade and is additionally accorded the period of time as a probationer during which his aptitudes, qualifications etc. can be observed? I think the work on a team that Comrade Constantinescu mentioned has much more complex aspects than mere acceptance or rejection of the young graduates.

IOSIF TRIPSA: But it is also true that trade school graduates are not preferred on all jobs. There are more complex trades at which the high school graduate with a diploma may show less dexterity on the job at first than the trade school graduate but overcomes the handicap in a few months, and after that he adjusts more readily to new tasks and changing production conditions because he has a better theoretical training (Let it be said parenthetically that we must reinforce theoretical training in all forms of education, including the trade schools). After a few months he generally produces more, sometimes even before his term as a probationer is up.

IOAN JINGA: The school directors and craftsmen-instructors perform veritable slaloms among the obstacles to obtaining practical-productive projects for pupils not in general, but particular projects conforming to the provisions of the school programs. There are cases where some enterprise managements do not know these programs and do not try to "cover" them with projects, and the pupils have to perform simple operations, thus learning to work only with simple tools, machines and equipment. And for that reason, when they are assigned to production they are received with reservations and even with distrust.

Once the school shops and the craftsmen-instructors from the trade schools and industrial high schools were incorporated in enterprises (according to the provisions of Decree No 220 of 1982), the latter's attitude changed for the better, but not enough in my opinion to produce a qualification meeting the requirements of labor productivity growth, technical progress, and the new economic-financial mechanism. I think we should generalize the experience of some enterprises in creating conditions for pupils in the second stage of high school to acquire productive experience in the same units, sections and shops to which they will be assigned after graduation, and also for teaching technologies directly at installations, machines and equipment. I also think closer correlation of the content of the specialized disciplines (and not only of them) with the nature of the sector, enterprise and jobs where the pupils acquire experience and where they will be assigned after graduation is highly important to better training of the labor force.

Moreover there are still some difficulties in coordinating the theoretical and practical training of pupils in the first stage because of the multitude of subjects as well as the fact that the experience is in groups of trades or even a single trade. For example, the fitters have subjects in fitting, processing by cutting on all machine tools, in a foundry, a forge, etc., and they acquire experience in a fittings shop or in the processing sections. But the builders get theoretical training in structures, finishings and installations and can acquire experience in only limited groups of trades. In order to obtain some coordination between their theoretical and practical training, the construction pupils perform certain operations such as masonry while they are still in 9th grade although they are difficult for their age. On the other hand if they performed painting and carpentry operations, which are more suited to their age, theory could not be correlated with practice. I conclude from this that experience in that trade should be acquired not at worksites in general but at school worksites, where a youth can work at the rate characteristic of workers in training.

TEODOR MARIAN: The better trained a graduate is, the sooner he can assert himself in production. The schools should feel more obligated to concern themselves with every graduate (how he has been received, how his working conditions are) at least until they see him solidly integrated in the work place, and to notify the competent organs of any mishaps. We have agroindustrial high schools whose graduates have no problems of any kind with integration at work. The zootechnical complexes, greenhouses and shops are staffed almost entirely with graduates of agroindustrial high schools.

Yet there are some considerations in connection with the need of even more pronounced integration of the schools with production. In the past every agricultural school had a farm of its own. These agrozootechnical farms were discontinued although they produced good results. Now we are trying to return to the past on the example of the schools at Salonta and Slatina, which more boldly "held to their position" and succeeded in keeping their own farms to this day, profitable and effective for teaching purposes. Every state agricultural enterprise or research station has allocated some areas of land to schools, but they are intended more for a certain kind of services which do not provide the necessary responsibility or practical instruction in my opinion. Neither the land nor the livestock belongs to the schools. I think it would be better to go back to organizing school-enterprises, so that the land, livestock and machines would be owned by the schools and there would be a production plan including tasks on the level of the best state agricultural enterprises.

FLOREA NEAGU: I have been concerned for a long time with the big problem of the creative potentials of the worker, craftsman and engineer. In order to do a certain thing you must know how to do it, regardless of trade and function, and you must want to do it and be able to do it. If any of these three components of the creative act is missing, neither shall we have the objective of the thing done. With this view of the interaction of the factors of science, desire and ability, I would permit myself to come to the "defense" of the schools' formative process, because it should not always be "accused" when something is not done. He who is expected to do something must also wish to. This desire flows from his social motivation. And as for the "ability," it is determined by the organizational structures. A school can teach the future worker how a thing is done, but the absence of any of the other factors will cause him not to do it

or to do it wrong. And so the school is not alone in causing a subject to do something. It seems to me the situation is encouraging in Romania. Therefore the question of reforms of the educational system does not arise. An idea I encountered in Andre Castelon's studies is to the effect that if a nation wishes to survive and prosper it should base its education on stable principles. That, I say, is an expression of historical wisdom. Accordingly I support stability in school organization and the principle of open education, but it must be able to adjust to social demands.

IOSIF TRIPSA: The situations are so dynamic that we shall always have something to be done in this field.

FLOREA NEAGU: It is well known, and it has also been said here, that Romania has some fields of material production that are short of manpower. In general these fields are labor-intensive and uncomfortable to work in. I think the extractive industries, a sector short of manpower both in Romania and elsewhere, have precisely those characteristics.

IOSIF TRIPSA: In view of the degree of mechanization and automation existing in the mining industry, even underground, it can no longer be said that it primarily demands physical effort, but primarily intellectual effort. The proportion of physical to intellectual effort has changed, especially in foundries, forges, rolling mills and steel mills. The mining sector is developing extraordinarily in Romania. Therefore there is a primary need of increasing the number of miners and of training the needed personnel in quantity. And secondly there has to be a qualitative change in training because great changes are being made in the inventory. We must train electrical engineering miners and not miners "purely and simply" as before.

ION PACURARU: A very important point has been brought up here. Actually the changes that have taken place and especially those that will occur in the future due to wide-scale promotion of technical progress and the new technologies (as specified by the programs approved by the Plenum of the Party Central Committee in November 1983) will entail essential changes in workers qualifications that we must allow for in the process of training and recycling workers.

Overall mechanization and automation of production and development of the technical inventory are radically changing the nature and content of labor. The center of gravity is gradually shifting from physical efforts to intellectual activity, with a high proportion of creative elements, and the structure of the functions performed by a worker is changing accordingly. The operational ones and especially those in connection with physical labor are being gradually transferred to the machines and their place is being taken by management, regulation, observation and control of the technological process. In its content, activity related to management of complex technological equipment or processes is approaching technical-engineering activity more and more closely.

As regards training the workers, in the present stage we must consider not only the production equipment they use but also their position in production management in their capacity as owners, producers and beneficiaries. Therefore a purely technical training proves insufficient. That is why in occupational training it is necessary to proceed more and more from the consideration that today a

higher qualification is no longer merely a means to mastery of the productive forces but particularly an essential for any creative activity. As Nicolae Ceaușescu has repeatedly pointed out, this calls for greater emphasis upon economic, political and ideological education to facilitate all workers' understanding of the laws of social development and of its motive forces, and consequently their active, purposeful participation in economic and social management. The heavy emphasis the party general secretary places on the need of occupational improvement and recycling of all workers is also well known and was emphatically stressed at the recent Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

FLOREA NEAGU: Personnel improvement is indeed essential these days. But it must be really effective, and I feel that requires more professionalism and greater encouragement of those who advocate support of that activity, as well as a more sustained effort on the part of those who are imparting knowledge of new machines and new technologies to the workers.

IOSIF TRIPSA: In connection with improvement of personnel and workers, some have thought that this improvement should unquestionably take a scholastic form and that we should have some people who want to obtain some incomes from the activity, whereas actually we need to include the entire mass of workers in all sectors so that they will learn to perform the various operations correctly that they are paid for. In no few enterprises we find that many workers do not know how a number of operations are performed. But however well an operation may be performed, it is impossible for it not to be done better. What is required now is improvement of all workers in the national economy not by organizing discussions and classes but by teaching them to perform the operations better and to obtain greater labor productivity. When it approved the Program for More Pronounced Labor Productivity Growth and Improved Organization and Standardization of Labor in 1983-1985 and on to 1990, the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in November 1983 pointed out again that rapid growth of labor productivity is a basic sine qua non for Romania's transition to a new stage of development.

ION PACURARU: Let us consider the present structure of the labor force a little and relate it to our needs for greater labor productivity. At present over 60 percent of the existing workers have not been qualified in schools, trade schools or high schools but by courses or on the job. We all know how this was done and who these people were, but the fact is that they represent the great majority of the workers. In the next period the economic problems will also be resolved with them. But these workers have a level of instruction, qualification and culture that is not always adequate and does not enable them to adjust "in progress," and yet we shall have to cope with the new economic objectives with them. We have a very good law on occupational improvement, and through improvement we must see that these people adjust more rapidly to technical progress and the new equipment. We shall have great difficulties in production unless we take effective measures to train, adjust and improve the labor force. In many enterprises there is a discrepancy between the average level of classification of operations and that of workers classification. The phenomenon is more pronounced in some new enterprises especially, and then it is normal for those classified in a low category to perform operations of a higher category. How do they perform them? Obviously not always satisfactorily.

STELIANA PERT: In the matter of scheduling personnel training there is one factor we know well and even very well, namely the population of school age, which

population is to enter the school system in various kinds of schools. But we have no certain technological forecast. We are planning education 10, 15 and 20 years ahead, so that I think some discrepancies are inevitable between the social need of a labor force and the "supply" from the educational system and occupational training, with all its social and economic consequences. The problem is further complicated when we allow for the subjective and psychosocial aspects of training and of the behavior of the labor force.

I also maintain that we have a good conception with a broad scope and a modern conception of training manpower resources. What is necessary is its consistent implementation. I do not think the manpower problem is limited to the trade school-high school "dilemma" because beyond projecting the requirement for education according to the needs of the economy, we must also allow for the fact that the need for education also depends on the individual. Therefore I think the individual desires and aspirations should be correlated as well as possible with the needs of the economy. This is where selection and vocational guidance come in, which we have already discussed.

In 1979, at the request of the Ministry of Labor, we made studies on the scarce trades in the extractive industries, in the heat sections of the machine building industry, in metallurgy and in construction. Except for mining, there is no field with a crisis in skilled workers. At a conference with all the administrative elements, including the directors of mines in Valea Jiului, it was found among other things that none of those present had sent his child to become a miner. Tradition in the mining profession has almost disappeared.

PETRE BURLOIU: I do not believe enough attention is paid in education to the question of education for work, organization of each one's work, and mastery of the principles of efficient conduct of the various activities. In the trade schools especially but also in the secondary schools and industrial high schools ways should be found of better instructing youths in the spirit of scientific organization of labor. We made studies in some 12 or 13 enterprises and found for example, that the same operation is performed differently by different workers, with different motions, in different order, with different durations, etc. Of course the results were also different in quality and in the overall effectiveness of the work.

IOSIF TRIPSA: Many bad situations we have to combat are results of a period when failures had been eliminated and anyone was allowed to pass. But we understood that dropping a failing student or one taking a second examination was not a "reject." Those are absolutely indispensable levers for securing quality in the instructive-educational process. Methods of active participation are being introduced in all grades, so that for the most part the standard disciplines strictly necessary for promotion will be mastered in class, in the shop and in the laboratory. The marks of 5 to 10 are to be assigned according to the pupil's individual work.

PAUL POPESCU-NEVEANU: I agree with you that the school mark and promotion are the main levers for regulating the educational system. Somehow we lost them for several years and operated with the myth of the omnipotence of the teachers, who were somehow deified on the assumption that they could do anything under any circumstances and starting from any point. It is regrettable that the teachers were made entirely responsible for promoting or not promoting the pupils.

IOSIF TRIPSA: We must cooperate further with the parents because they, out of very great love for their own offspring, often shield children from work and the children remain nincompoops, as the people say. We sometimes neglect work with the parents civic committees, although we should not remain on that level. We should further inform parents about the prospects offered by the various trades and the general living conditions for the future in various socioeconomic sectors.

I would like to say that we are optimistic about our educational system, but of course we must improve it. Just what are we doing? First, we are no longer passing all pupils, that is we are reintroducing the self-standards and standards natural to education. The policy of the ministry and the inspectorates is not to promote all pupils but only those with a well-established minimum of knowledge. There is a minimum, or compulsory, standard of knowledge even for the elementary grades, from first to fourth. Starting last school year, these standards are being tested for generalizing in all schools. To be sure these strictly compulsory standards will also be improved (We started from a certain level and wish to raise the standards year by year) for those who complete the first stage of high school. We shall have strictly compulsory standards for promotion to gymnasiums and high schools, especially as regards occupational training.

I also agree that we must raise the standards for educators especially and make a greater effort to educate the educators. The ministry and school inspectorates are emphasizing improvement of teachers, and participation in the forms of improvement and training of teachers is becoming obligatory. Regarding occupational training of high school pupils, a better correlation of technological and practical instruction, given in the same period of time in laboratories, school shops and enterprises, was instituted in this school year. The experience acquired in this first quarter will be thoroughly analyzed (at the conferences that are being organized in the next few weeks by the county school inspectorates jointly with the representatives of the ministries and sponsoring enterprises) in order to generalize the good results. On the occasion of these analyses measures will be adopted to improve all pupils' training in a trade in order to carry out the directions and tasks assigned by Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the recent Plenum of the CPR Central Committee and to train personnel in all occupations with a solid theoretical and practical preparation enabling them to make good use of the latest scientific and technical advances in the interest of growth of the national wealth and Romania's rise to ever higher peaks of civilization and culture. We are convinced that all these measures will bring about the expected qualitative leap in occupational training. All schoolmen are resolved to make their full contribution to this end.

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